





AMERICA'S TOMORROW

By
SNELL SMITH

With an Introduction by
HUDSON MAXIM

"The traditions of the American people are sound and their ideals will endure when the dynasties of old are decayed and forgotten."

—THEODORE E. BURTON.

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*To
Col. William Hayward
and the heroes of our army and
navy, both men and women, who
labored and sacrificed at home and
abroad for the cause of liberty,
equality and fraternity.*



INTRODUCTION

My friend Snell Smith's book, "America's Tomorrow," is essentially an historic, prophetic and anthroponomic treatise. It is a most informative analysis of our economic and political institutions and their possibilities. The author of the work must be recognized as an exceedingly scholarly man, whether or not one agrees with him in any or all respects. He has put a prodigious amount of labor and thought into the volume, and it is admirably calculated to make its readers think. The book stimulates inquiry, and inquiry is the parent of all progress.

A man's mind is a mill in which he grinds the grist of all mental acquirements, facts and fancies with experience, and the mental mill of no two men works with equal efficiency in separating the real meal of merit from the orts and chaff. No two persons, from a given set of premises not absolutely mathematical in their exactness, arrive at entirely like conclusions.

He is the best teacher who tells the student only what is absolutely necessary, and who puts the student in the way of finding out things for himself. Ready-solved problems do not instruct so well as

problems which one has to solve for himself. Scientific books must essentially be largely statements of fact, and in reading them any but the most scientific mind becomes quickly weary. Statements of mere fancies, from their suggestiveness, often serve so to stimulate imagination and inquiry in the mind of the reader as to lead him to the acquisition of more truth than he would get were the facts first baldly stated to him in purely scientific terminology.

It is better to bury the corn for a hen, leaving just kernels enough on the surface to indicate where it is, so that she will have to scratch for it. Likewise, it is better not to uncover all the corn of truth for the student, but to leave enough uncovered to make him scratch for it.

One may make bread of a mixture of ground wood or cotton cellulose, adding such sodium, potassium and phosphate salts with paraffin grease as to answer the chemical requirements of a balanced ration for human consumption; but the digestive organs of man would be unable to digest and assimilate the unpalatable product. Likewise, a vast amount of scientific information may be served in so dry and unpalatable a way as not to be either relished or easily assimilated by the mind. Food for the sustenance of the mind, just like food for the sustenance of the body, is better when flavored and seasoned to the taste. It is not so interesting

to read something full of useful facts that we can see at once are true, as it is to read something pregnant with suggestiveness.

The value of a book depends upon its interest and the good it will do one to read it. Snell Smith's book is most interesting, and it will do anyone good to read it.

There are, broadly speaking, two kinds of minds—the ratiocinative and the intuitive. The ratiocinative is the strictly scientific mind, and the intuitive is the poetic or mystical mind, splendid in its imaginative perceptions. The writings of the strictly scientific man are apt to be dry. It is not alone the load of facts a writing carries that constitutes its main merit; it is also the appeal it makes to the imagination.

Snell Smith's mind, while both ratiocinative and intuitive in its functioning, becomes in some portions of the book more intuitive. His last three chapters are especially imaginative and mystical, and are withal highly optimistic, especially as to the realization of the forlorn hope of the human heart that there is a coming time when men shall war no more, when love and gentleness shall banish brutality, greed and avarice.

Every person necessarily employs the results of his own personal experience to guide him in future conduct. Also, he employs the gathered results of the experiences of others for the same purpose.

He also, as occasion may arise, employs his experiential knowledge for the instruction of others regarding their conduct.

The student of history, ethnology and anthroponomy, if he be a man with large human sympathies, is prompted to use his interpretation of the lessons of history for the general instruction and benefit of his fellowmen. Such is the evident purpose of the present volume.

Present-day political and social problems are here discussed by a man who has long been a Washington newspaper correspondent, and has had an opportunity to study them first-hand. His patriotism leads him to an ardent hope that America is to become the arbiter of the world's destiny because of her vital strength and the benign character of her institutions. He pleads for order and unity at home, and the extension of American governmental ideals everywhere abroad. In fact, I know of no work in which is so clearly discussed the relation of America to the world and the relation of the world to America.

While I agree with Snell Smith that the facts of past human experience should be utilized to govern the future conduct of mankind, and while I agree with him that it is the duty of all of us to help one another in every way possible, and also to try to lead mankind in the direction of Utopia, with, as far as practicable, the banishment of war from

the world, still, though we may move farther than we now are in such direction, it is my opinion that the human race will never reach an actual Utopia "till the sun grows cold and the stars are old and the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold."

While I do not believe that any League of Nations will be able to banish war from the world, still I strongly believe that much good may be done by the banding together of different peoples for peace. Some wars may be prevented.

In this sense, I, in this Introduction, and Snell Smith in his book, enter into a sort of joint debate in continuation of those we have had in private conversations for many years. Friendly discussion is always helpful.

Regardless of any league to enforce peace, the nations are destined to grapple again in many and many an Armageddon, and with the increase in population, in wealth and industrial development of the nations, some of the great struggles that are coming will be of such colossal magnitude as to make the great world-war through which we have just passed seem far less large by comparison.

For all practical purposes, human nature is a constant. Circumstances may change, but the actual character of the race alters but little from century to century. The race to-day, in certain respects, is very old, but in other respects it is young. The size and build of the body, the size of the

brain-cavity and shape of the head, have altered but little through thousands of years; but in the matter of accomplishment the race has changed more during the past hundred and fifty years than it had previously changed in all the long-drawn ages since our home was a cave in the hill.

Ethnologically speaking, it was only yesterday that the ancestors of those of us of the great Nordic race, clothed in the skins of beasts, ran wild in the woods of Germany and Britain, or in frail boats coasted the rocky promontories of Scandinavia. It was also, ethnologically speaking, but yesterday that the ancestors of the Mediterranean, Semitic or Arabic races were wild, hill tribesmen, hunters and fishermen about the great inland seas, or were fierce, piratic nomads hovering about the deserts of Eastern Asia. Those were conditions under which neither large populations nor great intellectual or moral advancement was possible. A state of warfare was normal to them. Man-hunting was the greatest of all their sports. The might of the sword was then universally recognized as right.

There were, in those days, two professional classes—the priesthood and the military; and also the non-professional or working class, to which the women and the slaves belonged. The military system combined with the slave system reached its apex in the Roman Empire, and when that vast

Empire fell under the blows of the Northern barbarians, the feudal system came into being.

The Crusades to the Holy Land, the development of trade and commerce, the building up of industry, brought industrial centres or cities into prominence and into collision with the feudal barons. The people of the cities walled themselves in and defended themselves against the barons, and the barons, being brought to straits for lack of opportunity for plunder and pillage, were forced to terms. Again, the absence of the feudal lords in the Crusades strengthened the hands of the kings, and the kings allied themselves with the cities to bring the barons under the domination of kingship.

Industry, by slow degrees, made itself respectable, or at least respected. Again, industrial development led to invention and discovery; and it was found that inventors and discoverers would work better, and were therefore more profitable to a community, when allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labors. This led to inquiry into and to the recognition of the inalienability of human rights, and this recognition paved the way to human freedom.

Although such rights had been respected or somewhat recognized before, yet it was the industry of post-feudal times that compelled general recognition of the inalienability of certain human rights, especially the ownership and enjoyment of

property, the inviolability of the home, the freedom of body, mind and conscience, and the pursuit of happiness in one's own way, so long as in pursuing his happiness he does not interfere with the happiness of others.

All manner of labor-saving machinery, and all the vast and complicated mechanism of the modern world, have been the direct result of the recognition of the inalienability of human rights, for that recognition gave the greatest possible stimulus to invention, discovery and industrial development.

Improvements in means of transportation and communication led to the discovery of new lands, and the discovery of new lands, in its turn, greatly stimulated the development of transportation and communication.

A given area of the earth's surface, inhabited merely by hunters, must necessarily be thinly populated. Development of agriculture makes a far denser population possible. Again, the development of all manner of agricultural implements releases to the manufacturing arts, to the professions and to trades, a large percentage of the population, which, in turn, creates an enormous market for the produce of the farm. So it has been that in recent times the populations of the great civilized countries have increased by leaps and bounds.

The discovery of America and the opening up of vast areas in other lands, have provided room thus

far for the increased numbers of the earth's inhabitants. But the time is near when this will no longer be the case. The time is near when the peoples of the nations will press upon one another, and then there will come intense rivalry and competition and actual warfare for a place in the sun. So long as there will be opportunity for all, room for growth, and food to eat, it may be possible to maintain pretty general peace, but, as Napoleon said, "There is no subordination in an empty stomach." It is necessary only for a man to be hungry enough to make him a savage. Starving mothers in Jerusalem, when the city was besieged by Titus, ate their own children.

A high state of moral and intellectual culture, and general observance of law and order and peace between peoples, are possible only when living conditions are tolerable. Therefore, in order to banish war from the world and to establish Utopian conditions, such as the much-mooted millennial brotherhood of man, it would be necessary also to banish want from the world, necessary to reverse the law of survival of the fittest through the struggle for existence, for populations always multiply according to the Malthusian law right up to the full feeding-capacity of the land, and then, just like a lake with its outlet dammed up, the rising flood is bound to overflow its confines.

It is our duty to promote, as far as possible,

peace and good-will over the earth, but there is no power on earth great enough to shackle up old Mars and keep him chained.

It is the supreme effort of the supreme leaders of every species, both animal and vegetable, that gives to the multitudinous species their respective positions in the world. Every species and every race of animals is constantly being put to the supreme test for Nature to determine whether it shall continue to hold its place in the world, its position in the sun, or whether it shall yield it up to others better fitted.

The same inexorable natural law applies to every species of life, from the lowest organism up to man. Man owes his dominant position in the world to the primordial bent in his psychology that led him to use cunning instead of sheer brute force as his main weapon in contending with the brute creation and with his fellowmen.

The fathers of our country based our so-called free institutions on the oft-uttered but widely misunderstood proposition that all men are created equal. They doubtless did not mean to imply that all men are actually created equal mentally, morally and physically, but that all men have equal rights to the law's protection and equal rights to the world's opportunities for life and thrift.

The peace delegates at Paris presumed to recognize this proposition of equality, but with reserva-

tions. They were willing to have it that all men are created equal—except certain Orientals, and their declination to recognize the Japanese as equals seems pregnant with augurings and forebodings.

The Japanese and Chinese are our superiors in their ability to make Mother Earth provide for dense populations, and the Chinamen stand the highest of all people on earth in commercial honesty.

We beat the world at invention, but the Orientals beat us at imitation, and thus keep right along with us in the march of progress.

Taking the foregoing facts into consideration, let us see whether or not we can make some suggestive prognostications as to the future limitations of the League of Nations.

In the future, if all goes well in industrial and commercial development, there will be three great centres of commerce. That of first importance will be about the Bosphorus. Napoleon wisely foresaw the importance of that position and declared Constantinople to be the key to universal empire. The second great commercial centre will be the United States of America, and the third will be in China and Japan.

Within a wide radius of Constantinople, are Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Turks and Arabs, the sharpest bargainers in the world. It is said that

a Greek can out-bargain a Jew, and that an Armenian can out-bargain both the Greek and the Jew.

If the nations heretofore antagonistic in race, religion, and ambitions about Constantinople are to get together and work together in a brotherly way—and they will have to do it if the Peace League succeeds—then the various peoples about the Bosphorus will, from commercial self-interest, get together and form a great Central-Eurasian state, while the Japanese and Chinese, with boundless resources of cheap labor, are sure to compete successfully for the ocean-carrying trade, and as competition becomes more and more strenuous, and the demand for food for denser and denser populations more and more exacting, then the Central-Eurasians, habituated for centuries to privation, and the Orientals, who have through long ages become adapted to thrive on a stingy vegetable diet, will place the great Nordic race at a disadvantage—a race that has been developed under conditions that have given it large bodies, with the digestive requirements of the carnivora. The meat-eating Nordics could no more compete with Japanese and Chinese under conditions of food-shortage than lions, turned out to grass with goats and jack-rabbits, could compete with them as grass-eaters.

The time is coming when the great warlike Nordic race will feel the pressure of competition and crowding of the Central-Eurasians, Chinese and

Japanese, and it is certainly doubtful if the British lion, the American eagle and the German eagle will, when the pinch comes, tamely submit to the peace provisions of any League of Nations—the lion to let his hair be browsed off his hungry body by the goats, and the eagles to allow their feathers to be plucked by the rabbits. No, the time-old fighting and world-dominating spirit that has belted the globe with Nordic dominance is going to employ the same old masterful traits to secure future survival and future dominance. The Nordics will do that which will give the utmost use to their big brains and big muscles. They will fight for their share of the world's food supply—a share which will be the lion's share and the eagles' share, a share sufficient to meet their greater food requirements.

I do not take a pessimistic view of the future, but merely what I conceive to be a view warranted by all history and by the law of evolution. Those who do not take a view which has trouble in it for somebody, and war-breeding trouble, are going to make a mistake, just as the peace-propheying pacifists of America, Britain and France, before the great world-war, took too optimistic a view of the future, believing that the last great war had been fought, and neglected to prepare accordingly, whereas if they had seen the truth that Germany was preparing for world-conquest, they would have prepared,

and when the clash came they would not immediately have run short of ammunition and have been reduced to the necessity of either retreating precipitately or charging the multitudinous enemy with the bayonet and sacrificing lives by hundreds of thousands that could have been saved had they been supplied with the necessary guns and ammunition.

Let us not, like the ostrich, hide our head in the sand. Let us look to the future with a vision not afraid to discern what the future has in store.

HUDSON MAXIM.

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CHAPTER I

OUR NATIONAL STRENGTH

"Teach my son to read and reflect upon history."—Napoleon.

"Consider history with the beginnings of it stretching dimly into the remote time and merging darkly out of the mysterious eternity, the true epic poem and universal divine scripture."—Carlisle.

"For behold the Lord cometh out of his place to visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them; and the earth shall disclose her blood and be no longer a cover for her slain."

—Isaiah 26: 31.

ASSURANCE of the complete subjection of all nations and peoples to the ideals and civilization of the United States within the near future is contained in a law of history and nature which has for its ultimate and certain goal the unity of the race under popular government.

This law lies deeper than our national aspirations, which in themselves have not been sufficient to wrest extraordinary achievement out of the new conditions brought about by our participation in the great war and the politics and alliances of the mighty powers of the world. It has a basis more profound than extent of territory or material wealth, which have not alone been responsible for

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such a stupendous miracle as the awakening in the eighteen months from April, 1917 to October, 1918, of a population of an hundred millions from isolation and inactivity to raising and equipping an army of 3,750,000 men and sending 2,200,000 of them abroad to win every battle in which they were engaged; to increasing our naval forces to an enlistment of 612,000 men and assisting in foiling the submarine menace; to building 535 merchant ships in 198 shipyards and supplying three millions of tonnage; to lending eight billions to our allies and expending for the cause a grand total of twenty-five billions of dollars; to taking over for the national welfare the public utilities; to the prohibition of waste of food, light, heat and time; and to bending all the agencies of the religious life to the maintenance of morality among those directly or indirectly engaged in the fight.

Nor has this tremendous result been primarily due to that system of popular government, resting upon the consent of the governed, which has given the world a Washington and a Lincoln, provided universal free education for the children of its citizens of whatever extraction, vouchsafed the fullest right of expression at the ballot and in the public service, set up barriers against abuse of executive or legislative authority by carefully devised checks and balances, protected the minority against intolerance or tyranny by any class, creed or majority, and given scope to the mentality of men and women of unequalled resource and initiative. Without this formative agency it is unlikely that

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such a contribution to civilization would have been achieved so effectively, for none but the spirit of a state untrammelled by kingly power can so well direct multifarious forces working in the interests of liberty. But underneath all as the direct cause is a superabundant energy which is inherent in the American people.

This energy is in turn occasioned by a vitality which has been ripened by natural processes. Strengthened and developed though the American people may be physically by centuries of hardship and struggle, their brawn and quickness flow solely from an amalgamation of the blood of the peoples of many lands into one. Their type is the result of the crossing of species and the perfection of attributes of independence for themselves and an ideal of liberty for the earth which are fit to survive. Differing in form, feature and mental trait from any other race on the earth, they have entered upon the greatest stage of all time in order that they may give their message to the ever growing life of man.

It would be a truism to say that blood is the elixir vitae of all animate creation. Its effect in the field of history, where it may be observed quite as minutely as under the microscope, is but an extension of its application to the physiology of the individual, where it feeds the cells of the body with new sustenance, where the degree of its quantity and quality is the index of strength, and where it discharges the waste materials consequent upon exertion.

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When a person is depleted in energy his physician advises him to produce new blood by diet, exercise or medicine in order to gain fresh vitality. In extreme cases of illness the surgeon produces a transfusion from the blood of a healthier person. Children of parents of differing type and nationality are mentally more capable and physically stronger. Mendel demonstrated the advantageous outcome of fowl variation.

Darwin says: "I have collected so large a body of facts, and made so many experiments, showing, in accordance with the almost universal belief of breeders, that with animals and plants a cross between different varieties, or between individuals of the same variety but of another strain, gives vigor and fertility to the offspring; and on the other hand that close interbreeding diminishes vigor and fertility; that these facts alone incline me to the belief that it is a general law of nature. . . ."¹

And Burbank, most original of botanical experimenters, declares:

"During the course of many years of investigation into the plant life of the world, creating new forms, modifying old ones, adapting others to new conditions and blending still others, I have been constantly impressed with the similarity between plant and human life. . . . The crossing of species is to me paramount."²

¹ "Origin of the Species," p. 90. ² "Training of the Human Plant," by Luther Burbank, pp. 3-4.

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Draper, who laid down the postulate that man in his historical development is governed by natural law and proved its soundness with exactitude, touched upon blood transfusion as a cause but did not pursue his investigations to the secret of its effect. He said:

“By interior disturbances, particularly blood admixture, with more rapidity may a national type be affected, the result plainly depending upon the extent to which admixture has taken place. This is a disturbance capable of mathematical computation. If the blood admixture be only of limited amount, and transient in its application, its effects will sensibly disappear in no great period of time, though perhaps never in absolute reality.

“This accords with the observation of philosophical historians, who agree in the conclusion that a small tribe intermingling with a larger one will disturb it only in a temporary manner, and, after the course of a few years, the effect will cease to be perceptible. Nevertheless, the influence must continue much longer than is outwardly apparent; and the result is the same as when, in a liquid, a drop of some kind is placed, and additional quantities of the first liquid then successively added. Though it might have been possible at first to detect the adulteration without trouble, it becomes at every moment less possible of doing so, and before long it cannot be done at all. But the drop is as much present at last as at first; it is merely masked; its properties overpowered.

“Considering in this manner the contamination

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of a numerous nation, a trifling amount of foreign blood admixture would appear to be indelible, and the disturbance, any moment, capable of computation by the ascertained degree of dilution that has taken place.”¹

It is clear, then, that the crossing of races has in the course of time formulated national types. Some of the most widely known authorities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have come to this conclusion. But if this chapter had for its purpose merely the reiteration of such a truth, it would not have been written. If, however, with the full data of five thousand years of history before us, we may discover not only the proof of such an inference but go beyond it and disclose a law which works with mathematical exactness and explains the entire development of civilization, we shall find in the past the exact reading of the immediate and even the far future. We shall then have a purely scientific and therefore absolutely accurate barometer of events among the nations of our time and of the following generation. We shall read the destiny of the United States as clearly as if it were told by an infallible prophet—and what prophet is so infallible as nature! We shall be able to foretell the form and scope of the entire future life of mankind on the planet on which he dwells. We shall have solved the riddle of history.

Under this law it follows that a transfusion of the blood of several stocks throughout a period of three hundred years produces an entirely new peo-

¹ “Intellectual Development of Europe,” by J. W. Draper, Vol. i, p. 15.

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ple which at the maximum of strength caused by the admixture conquers its rivals, expands into empire and does its work in the world. The process of transfusion is begun by political conditions which make for unity in a territory where there has been marked division or distinct separateness. It is accompanied by gradual metamorphosis into the new organism, which is bound thereby ultimately to disturb the peace and affect the fate of mankind.

This condition is frequently marked by the strongest of the original peoples within contiguous and naturally accessible limits overcoming the others and bringing about their amalgamation, as the ancient Romans exerted sway over the Italian peninsula to the Alps, the English subdued their entire island, the Prussians mastered their rivals in North Germany, and, it is possible, we shall expand on this continent. But in all cases whenever the new people created by the fusion of two or more elements attains its apex of power after three centuries it overcomes opponents and gains influence over further domain. As Burbank says, "ten generations of human life¹ should be ample to fix any desired attribute. This is absolutely clear and neither theory nor speculation."²

People fall exactly within the observation of Darwin concerning a lower order of existence that "each newly formed variety would be at first local, as seems to be the common rule with varieties in a state of nature; so that similarly modified individ-

¹Of Thirty years each, or three centuries. ²"Training of Human Plant," by Luther Burbank, p. 63.

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nals would soon exist in a small body together. If the newly formed variety were successful in its battle of life, it would slowly spread from a central district, competing with and conquering the unchanged individuals on the margin of an ever-increasing circle." In the instance of human kind the growth is slow and, so far as outward show of strength is concerned, at times imperceptible; but the very maximum of expanding strength is invariably reached at the end of the period of three centuries from the beginning of the conditions which made unity and admixture possible.

The reason for the attainment of utmost strength in this exact period is no more provable within present knowledge than the fact that the earth revolves on its axis each twenty-four hours. The cause of the revolution is apparent, but not the number of hours. It is certain, however, that this lapse of time of blood transfusion is requisite for attainment of full strength.

When a people enjoys its full power it is under natural necessity of exercising it, just as an individual in the heyday of his energies must give vent to them in activity. It utilizes an army and a navy and a merchant fleet, engines of its advancement. Its strength creates within it an ambition to do mighty things. The national consciousness takes on more settled and determined purpose. Thinkers and agitators whip its vitality into rage at the attitude of neighbors or an earnest idealism to bring about better conditions. Kings and emperors and heads of democratic states heed this vitality and

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themselves become anxious to assist it by advancing beyond the past.

But the real object of giving full expression to fresh and irresistible vigor is the same. A people fights in its prime and thereby exhausts itself in gaining dominion which is limited only by its strength to acquire. It holds this territory only until a more virile power arises to wrest its supremacy from it. Then it resumes the boundaries it had before the period of spreading out.

Thus civilization may be likened to a torch carried by the strongest. When the arm that upholds it becomes weak it is seized by another and borne along. At the time of the zenith of a people the Alexanders, Cæsars, Charlemagnes and Napoleons appear. Good blood, racing through the arteries and pulsating along the nerves that feed the brain, quickens and gives force to thought. Commingled blood produces the red corpuscles by which each people and therefore each nation leaves its imprint upon posterity and contributes to that store of the world's achievement by which we of the present day are made heirs of the ages.

Modified though civilization may be by climate and topography, it is vitality given by blood transfusion which enables man to react upon his political, intellectual and even economic surroundings so as to give them shape and fiber, and then, through the decline by exhaustion of that vitality, compels him to be reacted upon in turn by more vital and therefore more fit organisms, thus weaving the warp and woof of history.

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If it can be proven that this natural process of the crossing of human species resulting in strength and variation is analagous to that in plant and animal life; that the enumeration of instances of fifty empires throughout as many centuries of history reaching this maximum of conquering sway after three hundred years of transfusion is complete with one partial exception; that the circumstances in the effect of the partial exception prove the cause and verify the remaining instances; that where, as in a very early period, the facts are not sufficiently available to show the exact lapse of time between cause and effect, but the amalgamation of blood prior to the period of utmost expansion is clear; that where there has been no transfusion there has been no empire; that the extent of the subsequent empire is entirely dependent upon the amount of the blood commingled; that where the expanded people has become exhausted, returned to original limits and then retransfused a new empire has developed; that wherever in history an infusion, however slight, occurs, activity consequent upon the new vitality results three centuries later,—it must be concluded that this law is universal and is the cause of the rise and decay of nations.

If it can be demonstrated that such a law is a part of the phenomena of nature and is therefore dependable, and that the United States will soon reach its apogee after an amalgamation of blood throughout exactly three centuries, it must become as patent as the periodicity of the stars that the American Republic will continue to emerge tri-

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umphant from its battling in our generation and fulfill its destiny to give to civilization what a nation or individual can give—that which is of itself—its own ideal to the peoples in a system which will grant self-determination to all of them. Neither sea nor land can withstand the perfect precision of the law of blood. Europe, since the beginning of the upheaval in 1914, has been unable to avoid the force of its insistent effects more than the ancient East, the Middle Ages or prehistoric Mexico and Peru. Neither will America or any other nationality be able to depart from the organic law of human life to any greater extent than the bee and the ant from the natural rules governing their respective spheres.

Careful examination of the historical record for invariable application of the law of blood may be begun with the case of ancient Rome. The people which originally occupied the Italian peninsula south of the Arno and the Rubicon were the Romans, Latins, Hernici, Volsci, Etruscans, Sabines, Samnites, Lucanians, Vestini, Ausones, Marsi, Paelegni, Umbri, Sabellians, Bruttians, Veientes, Aequi and some Greeks.¹ At the opening of the Samnite wars in 345 B.C., the Roman people began to overcome their rivals, subdue the territory to the Arno, bring about closer communication by the building of roads, and to transfuse these bloods.²

¹ "History of Rome," by Theodor Mommsen, Vol. i, pp. 107, 114, 119, 128. ² Ibid. pp. 348-355.

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Three centuries later, under Julius Cæsar, who died in 44 B.C., the people thus made conquered western Europe, northern Africa and Asia Minor and laid the foundations of the mighty empire which gave the world its law and administration. And as during the Punic wars Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily, as well as Venetia,¹ were annexed, and as all of northern Italy above the Arno was added by the older population conquering the Cenomanni in 197,² the Insubres in 196,³ the Boii in 191,⁴ the Appuani in 180,⁵ and the Ligurians in 176,⁶ so three centuries later, under Trajan, whose death occurred in 117 A.D., the additional blood thus commingled widened the limits of the empire to their greatest extent, the maximum of the Romans.⁷

Likewise in Greece it was blood that told. According to Grote, the foundations of Macedonia were laid in the seventh century before the Christian era.⁸ Then Perdikkas began consolidation of the Lyncestians, Orestians and Pæonians.⁹ It was this combination into a Macedonian people that enabled Alexander the Great in the fourth century to conquer Western Asia and give it the imprint of that Hellenic civilization which consisted of supremacy in architecture, sculpture, philosophy, liter-

¹ Encyclopædia Britannica, XXVII, 986. Wherever possible I refer to this greatest compendium of critical historical knowledge, rather than the original sources, because handiest to the general reader. ² "History of Rome," by Theodor Mommsen, Vol. 2, p. 182. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid., p. 184. ⁵ Ibid., p. 185. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ "General History," by P. V. Myers, p. 288. ⁸ "History of Greece," by George Grote, Vol. 4, p. 204. ⁹ Ibid.

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ature and its city life. The teacher of the youthful warrior was Aristotle, the Greek mind with them reaching its zenith.

The riddle of how the older Greek states fell before Macedon is answered by the law of blood. Each had had its time. In Attica it was a union of the Pelasgians, Cecropes, Acharnians and the men of Thoricus, Eleusis, Icaria, Aphidnae and Presiae that made the empire of Athens possible.¹ This led to transfusion. In the golden age of Pericles, three centuries later, Athens reached its maximum. The Boetians descending into the Ægean peninsula from the northwest, established unity and infused with the Cadmeans and other peoples.² They flowered in the hegemony of Thebes. The Dorians entered Laconia and mingled with the Leleges, Minyans and Phrenecians.³ The supremacy of Sparta was the result. The Dorians also entered Argolia and transfused with the Hylleia, Pamphili and Dymanes.⁴ The race thus formed for a time dominated the Peloponnesus. The Dorians, mixing with Ionic populations in Corinth, led to expansion in Syracuse and Corcyra.⁵ The Aeolians conquered and amalgamated with the Epeans, later extending their power.⁶ The Thessaloi settled in Thessaly and the Achæans in Achæa, but neither ever played a prominent part in Grecian history because each remained practically one blood.⁷

In the second century the Goths, descending into

¹ "History of Greece." by J. B. Bury, p. 166. ² Ibid., p. 60.
³ Ibid., pp. 61-62. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid., pp. 57-58. ⁷ Ibid., p. 59.

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Southern Europe from their seats on the Vistula, transfused with the Ulmerugi, Gepidæ and Scythians.¹ In the fifth century they moved rapidly westward and, attaining their maximum as a conquering nation under Theodoric the Great, expanded over Italy, Gaul and Spain.² The Vandals came in contact and amalgamated with Marcomanni, Lugii and Silingæ in Central Europe in the second century.³ After being impeded by the Romans and Goths, in the fifth century they overran Spain and Africa, establishing in the latter territory a large kingdom.⁴

In the fifth century also came the Huns at the height of their power under Attila. Their empire extended from the Caucasus to the Rhine and from the Baltic to the Danube.⁵ Prior to their entrance into this scene of action they had in the steppes north of the Caspian been conquering and transfusing their blood with the Alpizuri, Alcidzuri, Hunari, Tuncarsi, Boisci and Alani.⁶ The time from their zenith back to the beginning of amalgamation may be computed to have been about three hundred years.⁷ After the death of Attila their empire disappeared and they were disseminated among the peoples they had conquered, though the greater part of them remained in what is now Hungary, to be overcome centuries later by the Mag-

¹ Ency. Brit., XII, 272. ² Ibid., p. 274. ³ Ibid., XXVII, p. 884; XXIII, p. 652. ⁴ Ibid., XXVII, pp. 884-5. ⁵ Ibid., XIII, p. 933. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Ibid.

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yars, but not before giving their name to the land.¹ It was there that Attila had his capital.²

After the Goths, Vandals, Huns and Franks had passed one after another into Gaul in the fifth century, submerging the Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, Romans and Celts who dwelt there, the Sicambrian Franks, under Clovis, subdued the others.³ All were amalgamated into a new and greater people. Three centuries later, under Charlemagne, this people attained its maximum, conquered the greater part of Europe and reëstablished the Empire of the West.⁴ This resumption of that vast authority did not last long, being divided among the Great Emperor's three grandsons, but it flashed across the darker centuries that followed it an ideal of order and strength.

In the early period of Norwegian life were Lapps, Finns and tribes that had immigrated from Jutland and Sweden.⁵ These peoples lived separate existences and were distributed among different dukedoms until the beginning of unification under Harold Haafinger in the tenth century.⁶ Under Haakon IV, in the thirteenth century, Norway took Iceland and developed to its utmost extent.⁷ During this time the adventurous Normans gave new vitality to France, Sicily and England.⁸

Denmark was composed of Jutes, Cimbri, Heruli, Langobardi, Charydes, Angli, Sigoulones, Sabalig-

¹ Ency. Brit., XIII, p. 932. ² Ibid., II, p. 885. ³ Ibid., X, p. 804. ⁴ Ibid., p. 809. ⁵ Ibid., XIX, p. 806. ⁶ Ibid., pp. 806-7. ⁷ Ibid., p. 808. ⁸ Ibid., IX, p. 751 seq.

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goi and Kabandoi in ancient times.¹ In the eighth century, under Harold and Sigifridus, transfusion began among those disunited peoples that had remained after the earlier migrations.² In the eleventh century Canute the Great conquered England, Norway, Sweden and part of the present Prussia on the Baltic.³ This empire, which thus reached its greatest extent, was short lived, though Denmark itself remained a power to be reckoned with in the North for five centuries longer.⁴

What is now Sweden was formerly made up of the Svear, Gotar, Visigoti, Finns, Vinovi, Rerefenni and Greatas.⁵ Most important of these were the Gotar and Svear.⁶ In the early fourteenth century, under Magnus Lodalus, unity began.⁷ Three centuries later, in the early seventeenth century, Sweden conquered Finland, Denmark, Norway, the Southern Baltic and Poland.⁸ This was accomplished under Gustavus Adolphus and Charles X.⁹ The Swedish empire was twice the size of the nation of today. As the Union of Kalmar, cemented by Sweden, Norway and Denmark in 1397, resulted in further transfusion, so in 1697, immediately upon the accession of Charles XII, Sweden began another short period of expanding power.

Moravia was at one time inhabited by the Quadi, Vandals, Heruli, Rugii and Lombards before it was subdued by the Moravians, who began amalgama-

¹ Ibid., VIII, p. 28. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., p. 29. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ency. Brit., XXVI, p. 196. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Ibid., p. 199. ⁸ Ibid., p. 203. ⁹ Ibid.

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tion in the sixth century.¹ This people helped Charlemagne defeat the Avars and in the ninth century reached its maximum with territories extending from the Moldau to the Drave and from the Riesengebirge to the Vistula, as large as the present Austria-Hungary.² But Moravia soon fell before the advancing Magyars, who had entered the plains of Hungary about 900, conquering the Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Huns and Avars they found there.³

Under Arpad this work was completed in 906 and the transfusion of blood into the Hungarian people began.⁴ Three centuries later, in 1195, Bela III expanded the Hungarian empire southward and westward to Bosnia and Dalmatia, helping to break up that of the Byzantines, and extending suzerainty over Servia.⁵ The empire then declined and after three-fourths of Hungary had been devastated by the Tartars in 1241, leaving a stratum to mingle with the rest, wholesale immigration set in, including great numbers of Cumanians, and a new period of amalgamation followed.⁶ Three centuries afterwards Hungary became the leading power in Europe under Matthias Corvinus.⁷ He took Moravia, Silesia, Upper and Lower Lusatia, Styria, Carniola and Carinthia, and established suzerainty over Bosnia.⁸ Having expended its strength, Hungary, too, soon succumbed to stronger rivals.

The territory of Wallachia, a part of what is now

¹ Ency. Brit., XIX, p. 206. ² Ibid., XVIII, p. 817. ³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid., VIII, p. 901. ⁵ Ibid., p. 903. ⁶ Ibid., p. 908. ⁷ Ibid., p.
904. ⁸ Ibid.

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Rumania, was formerly inhabited by Dacians, Goths, Tartars, Slavs, Vlachs, Petchenegs and Cumanians.¹ Radu the Black led a numerous people, the Rumans, into the land between 1290 and 1310 and overcame the older peoples he found there.² Three hundred years passed and then, in 1601, Michael the Brave extended this dominion over Transylvania and Moldavia.³

In Moldavia the same process had taken place. Rumanian settlements were made there in 1164, leading to an amalgamation with Vlachs, Hungarians and others.⁴ During the early part of the reign of Stephen the Great, which lasted from 1458 to 1504, Moldavia reached its maximum, annexing part of Poland and expanding from the Molcovu to the Dneister rivers, including Bukovina and Bessarabia.⁵ Speedily it fell before Turkey. While both Wallachia and Moldavia were united in 1859 under the title of Rumania, they are Rumanian only in a basis of people, in each case having mingled with others and emerged into a separate nation.

Bohemia was early occupied by the Marcomanni, Tartars, Cechs, Slavs, Avars, Moravians and Greeks.⁶ The empire of the tenth century was the result of the consolidation of these peoples three hundred years earlier and the beginning of further transfusion. About 1275, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, under Prmysl Ottocar II, the Bohemian empire reached its maximum, asserting

¹ Ency. Brit., XXIII, pp. 831. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., pp. 832-3. ⁴ Ibid., p. 834. ⁵ Ibid., p. 835. ⁶ Ibid., IV, p. 123.

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its sway over Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, Upper Lusatia, Styria, Carinthia, Istria and parts of Northern Italy.¹ With the rise of Austria, under Rudolph of Hapsburg, it succumbed.²

The Swiss, who have fought steadily toward their ideal of federation and liberty for more than six centuries, fulfill in exact terms the law of blood. Composed of peoples of French, Burgundian and Italian stock, as well as the original Helvetii, they began amalgamation upon the formation of the Everlasting League in 1291.³ Three centuries later, a Swiss people, they attained their widest extent of territory and, in addition, gave mercenaries to their neighbors.⁴ In 1584, the last extension of territory, Geneva, was added to Zurich.⁵ The names of Calvin and Zwingli attest the intellectual importance of the Swiss in the Reformation.

In Portugal the early peoples were the Iberians, Alani, Suevi, Carthaginians, Greeks, Gauls, Goths, Romans and later the Arabs and Berbers.⁶ Greeks and Carthaginians were almost negligible.⁷ Most of the people remained separate for centuries.⁸ It was not until Sancho II, from 1223 to 1248, that the country was consolidated and amalgamation began.⁹ Then after three centuries the Portuguese empire reached its greatest height. By 1540 it had acquired its most extensive possessions in Brazil, East and West Africa, Malabar, Ceylon, Indo-China

¹ Ency. Brit., pp. 123-4. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., XXVI, p. 247. ⁴ Ibid., p. 255. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid., XXII, p. 139. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid., p. 141.

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and the Malay archipelago.¹ Overflowing into those lands, its population was diminished from two millions to one million.²

Forty years later it fell before the power of Spain, which had been made up of Iberians, Celts, Celtebarians, Romans, Vandals, Suebians, Visigoths, Arabs, Negroes and Basques.³ Unification began under Alphonso of Castile at the close of the twelfth century.⁴ At the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century Spain reached its maximum under Ferdinand and Isabella and Charles V.⁵ The Spaniards conquered Portugal and Italy, circumnavigated Africa and the globe, founded colonies, subdued Mexico and Peru and dominated Europe. Their power commenced to steadily descend with the revolt of the Netherlands and the defeat of the Great Armada.⁶

The Netherlands in early times were inhabited by the Gaulo-Celtic tribes known as the Belgæ.⁷ Among these were the Nervii, Frisians and Batavi. In the fifth century came the Salian Franks and a little later a Saxon admixture.⁸ Finally in the tenth century a considerable infusion of Northmen was added. Godfrey, a Norse duke, was confirmed in the possession of Friesland.⁹ In the eleventh century feudalism was established and civil wars between the different racial interests were constant. In the late fourteenth and early fif-

¹ Ency. Brit., XXII, pp. 143-4. ² Ibid., pp. 145-6. ³ Ibid., XXV, p. 537. ⁴ Ibid., pp. 544-5. ⁵ Ibid., p. 550. ⁶ Ibid., p. 551. ⁷ Ibid., XIX, p. 413. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid., p. 414.

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teenth centuries consolidation began under the dukes of Burgundy, fostered by commerce between the industrious and wealthy towns.¹ Three hundred years later, after William the Silent had fought the power of Spain single-handed, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, that part of the Netherlands which became Holland reached its maximum of strength under the Dutch Republic, controlling the seas of the world and overflowing into the East Indies and South and North America.² That part which is now Belgium, with less Norman and Saxon infusion, and held in closer sway by Spain and France, never conquered, and overflowed finally in the Congo alone.

Bulgaria was once a mighty empire. Originally a Turanian people, the Bulgarians emerged from their tracts in the Urals and in the seventh century, under Kahn Ishperikh, took Moesia and began an amalgamation with the Slav, Ugrian and Finnish populations there.³ In the tenth century, under Simeon, Bulgaria reached its zenith with an empire which extended from the Black Sea to the Adriatic and from the borders of Thessaly to the Save and the Carpathians.⁴ Then it became decadent. In the latter part of that century Russians and Greeks transfused with the Bulgarians.⁵ In the thirteenth century occurred a temporary and partial renewal of the empire.⁶ Finally, with the rise of the Turks, it again passed away.

¹ Ency. Brit., XIX, p. 415. ² Ibid., pp. 419-20; XIII, p. 595 seq.

³ Ibid., IV, p. 779. ⁴ Ibid., p. 780. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

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The Serbs were first known historically when inhabiting Galicia.¹ From there they migrated to the Black Sea and across the Danube to their present position in the Balkans toward the middle of the seventh century.² They mingled with Greeks, Huns and Croats.³ After thorough unification under Bulgarian domination and an important admixture of Bulgarian blood in the eleventh century, in the fourteenth century Servia reached the zenith of its empire, conquering Albania, part of Macedonia, the Sanjak of Novibazar, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro.⁴ Maintaining its power a few years, it also fell before the Turks.

The Ottoman Turks were forced westward from Central Asia by the Mongols.⁵ In the middle of the thirteenth century they began to overflow and amalgamate with the already declining Seljuks and other peoples, such as Byzantines, in Asia Minor.⁶ Three centuries after, in the middle of the sixteenth century, Turkey, under Suleiman the Magnificent, reached its greatest power and extent.⁷ When this Sultan died in 1566 his empire extended from the frontiers of what is now Germany to Persia.⁸ The Black Sea was a Turkish lake and from Egypt to Morocco the Sultan's power was supreme.⁹ The Turkish empire commenced to fall five years later at Lepanto, but sovereignty over the Balkans and Greece was retained.¹⁰

Transfusion in the new territories was prevented

¹ Ency. Brit., XXIV, p. 690. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., p. 691. ⁴ Ibid.
⁵ "History of the Ottoman Turks," by E. S. Creasy, pp. 2-3.
⁶ Ibid., pp. 4-5. ⁷ Ibid., Chaps. ix-x. ⁸ Ibid., p. 197. ⁹ Ibid.
¹⁰ Ibid., Chap. xi.

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because of further wars, until after the peace of Sitvatorok in 1606.¹ Three centuries more and in 1912 Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro, together with Greece, defeated the older state in a decisive campaign, again expanding into wider dominion and thereby fulfilling the law of blood. Bulgaria, in nearer proximity to the Turkish center, Constantinople, and without mountain barriers between, and therefore with greater transfusion, produced in the Balkan war a much more vital force of fighting men and General Savoff, an exceedingly able strategist.

The Poles, or Polabs, believed to have been driven from the Danube to North Central Europe by the Romans, found rivals in the Slavonian peoples and the Pomeranians and Silesians.² After being wasted by the sword many times, their territory was finally devastated by the Turks in 1241.³ During the following half century considerable immigration was invited, including the people of the Teutonic Orders, Letts and Lithuanians.⁴ With the process of recuperation amalgamation started. Three hundred years later the Polish people thus made reached their maximum.⁵ Mosovia was taken in 1526, Livonia in 1561, Volhynia and Podolia in 1569, and in the latter year Lithuania was practically annexed.⁶ The empire then extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea and from near Berlin to the 35th parallel of longitude, far east of the

¹ "History of the Ottoman Turks," by E. S. Creasy, p. 239.
² Ency. Brit., XXI, p. 902. ³ Ibid., p. 903. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid., p. 908
seq. ⁶ Ibid.

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Dneiper. Poised for a brief period, it went down before the Turks and then the Russians, Swedes, Prussians and Austrians. Because of its form of government, even nationality was lost, but the Polish people still live and at last, through the United States, have found independence.

IN the vast continent of Asia many conquering empires existed and centuries ago passed into that comatose condition which has since seized upon them. In their day they gave the great religions, philosophies and arts to man. In these the modern has never surpassed the ancient world in fundamental conception. The highest civilization of the present time has not been wrought by Christianity, forms of law or centuries of buffeting against the rigorous climate of Northern Europe, but to the fresher and vitality-giving transfusion of races in Europe and America. The architecture of Egypt, India, Greece, Rome and the Caliphs, the the thought of Syria, Greece and Arabia, and the achievements of Alexander, Cæsar, Justinian and Harun were not merely the productions of the men of a milder climate. Nor was it boundless expanse of plain which tempted the hosts of Attila and Jinghis Kahn to threaten Europe, but the blood-mixed life within them.

Each of these Asiatic nations had its period of youth and age and in every case it was timed by this cause alone. Every people there, with the exception of the Japanese, has had its maximum, expanding and falling back through decay to its

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original limits. Their history is dim, because of lack of adequate records, but where facts appear the same infallible law of blood is found at work.

Thus in early Babylonia a transfusion of the peoples immediately surrounding Eridu and Nippur led to the empire of Accad.¹ Another mixture of Lagash and Kis, and long enough after the beginning of consolidation to have approximated three hundred years, the unified people expanded from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian.² After a further infusion of Semitic blood the empire of Sargon of Accad extended its boundaries over the greater part of present Asia Minor and Arabia.³ It shortly disappeared. Then came that of Ur, widening its limits to the Mediterranean.⁴ When it went down Babylon fell to the sovereignty of Elam, under Chedolaomar.⁵ This was necessarily accompanied by another infusion of new blood, including Canaanites.⁶ When a new people conquered they took the old capital, the city of Babylon, and made it theirs. Thus the appearance of a revival of Babylonia itself was given, whereas the opposite is the case.⁷ The new people thus transfused found empire under Hammurabi.⁸

This was followed by one of Sumerian supremacy and then the land was conquered and transfused by the Kassites under Kandis.⁹ During the supremacy of the latter and that of Egypt the Assurites had been overcoming their neighbors, including

¹ Ency. Brit., III, p. 102. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., p. 103. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid., p. 104.

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Hittites, and developing into an Assyrian empire, before which Babylon fell temporarily. Declining for a time, a second Assyrian empire, greater than the first, gathered new strength from further transfusion with Armenians, Hittites, Medes and Syrians, following their consolidation. It declined and then, after being taken by the Chaldeans, Babylon again arose to be a mighty city and the seat of an empire, performing its greatest feats of arms under the second Sargon and his immediate successors.¹ Chaldean struggles with Egypt and Elam brought exhaustion.² After this appeared the Scythians and Cimmerians.³ They, too, overran Asia Minor, destroyed Nineveh and took Babylon as a capital. Their empire lasted less than half a century and went down before Cyrus the Persian.⁴ Realizing the religious significance of Babylon, he, too, made the city his capital.⁵

There is evidence that the Phrygians amalgamated during three hundred years with the Bittynians, Thyni, Mariandyni and other peoples before the expansion of Phrygia over western Asia Minor.⁶ Its empire fell before the Cimmerians and then to Lydia.⁷ In the case of the latter, the Cimmeri captured Sardis in 1078 B. C.⁸ They mixed with the Mysians and Dardani.⁹ Three centuries later, under Cræsus, the richest king of his age, the Lydian Empire reached its greatest extent and became the financial center of the Mediterranean world.¹⁰

¹ Ency. Brit., III, p. 105. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid., p. 106. ⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid., XXI, p. 541. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid., XVII, pp. 157-8. ⁹ Ibid.
¹⁰ Ibid., p. 158.

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In Ancient Persia were Iranians, Poricanii, Gedrosii and Myci, and in Media were Anaraiacæ, Tapuri, Amardi, Caspii, Caducii, Galæ, Guteans and Lulubeans.¹ After the Scythian and Cimmerian invasions, leaving strata of population, Media extended over the greater part of Asia Minor and east to Iran.² It had reached its zenith in 553 B. C. when Cyrus revolted. Three years afterward it fell and Persia became the great power in Western Asia, as the result of its peoples having been in the previous centuries welded into one.³ After the inevitable decay it began to go down before the Greeks in the following century at Salamis. All these empires, the history of which extended over many centuries, were made by and followed a combination of blood.

About three hundred years after the inundation of the Hyksos tribes, probably from Arabia, one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Egypt occurred, from Tethmosis I to Tethmosis III.⁴ Of the latter, the period from 1550 to 1546 B. C. is especially mentioned.⁵ This great king subdued Syria, Babylon, Libya, Ethiopia, Phœnecia and the Hittites.⁶ New blood was infused. Three centuries later, under Rameses II, Egypt conquered and took in Nubian, Libyan, Syrian, and Hittite blood.⁷ Peace was made and amalgamation began again about 1250 B. C.⁸ Libyans thereafter served in the armies.⁹ The country fell into decay and lost

¹ Ency. Brit., XXI, p. 202-3. ² Ibid., p. 206. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid., IX, p. 83. ⁵ Ibid., p. 79. ⁶ Ibid., pp. 83-4. ⁷ Ibid., p. 85. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid.

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its power. Then, three centuries after Rameses II had reinvigorated it, at about 950 B.C., under Sheshonk I, Egypt took Palestine, Israel, Judah, Nubia and Thebia.¹ When this empire began to go down Ethiopia conquered Egypt and gave it new blood.² After three centuries had again passed, under Psammeticus (664-610 B.C.) and Necho, Egypt again restored something of its ancient limits.³ In the fourth century A.D. Abyssinia (Ethiopia) was opened to immigration.⁴ In the seventh century it conquered Yamen and much of Arabia and carried on a large trade with India and Ceylon.⁵ In the sixteenth century Mohammedans conquered and retransfused the country.⁶ In the nineteenth century the Emperor Theodore extended his dominions over Shoa, Amhera and Tigre.⁷

Thirteen hundred years before the Christian era the twelve tribes of Israel began their amalgamation.⁸ About 1000 B. C., under David, the Hebrews extended over much of Syria.⁹ They gave to mankind the sublime message of the ages. They fell before Nineveh and Babylon. Today wherever placed the Jews command respect for their intelligence, but as conquerors they had their time alone under the son of Jesse.

Of India little is known before Alexander the Great as to dates and for centuries after him is obscurity, but where facts are clear the law of blood is found working with a startling sureness. Thus

¹ Ency. Brit., IX, p. 89. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., p. 87. ⁴ Ibid., I, p. 89. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid., p. 90. ⁷ Ibid., p. 91. ⁸ Ibid., XV, p. 374. ⁹ Ibid., XV, p. 375.

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in the middle of the first century A.D. the Yue-chi, a strange people, entered the Kabul valley and began amalgamation under Khadphises.¹ In the fourth century Chandraguptra expanded thus dominion over an empire.²

In Chinese history is evidence that the rise and fall of dynasties were due to new elements from the outside which from time to time entered the land and conquered the former reigning force after it had fallen to decay. The first ruler was always brave and vigorous. The last was degenerate. The earliest such account of any authenticity is that of the Tsin regime, which originated in a people on the western borders who had mingled with other blood three centuries before conquering the entire ancient territory.³ The Manchus were a people occupying what is now Manchuria, the name first attaining prominence in the thirteenth century.⁴ After having been a shifting population, they then began amalgamation with the Yih-low, Wuh-keih, Moh-hoh and Pohai.⁵ Three centuries afterward following the example of the Khitians, Nuchiks, and Mongols before them, they, under their leader Nurachu, conquered not only Mongolia but the Chinese Empire.⁶ The empire of Jinghis Kahn, extending from the China sea to the Dneiper river, had been founded upon an amalgamation of the peoples of what is now Mongolia.⁷ After their task they shrank to their original limits.

¹ Ency. Brit., XIV, p. 399. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., VI, p. 194. ⁴ Ibid., XVII, pp. 553-4. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Ibid., XVIII, p. 712.

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Neither is Tibet so dark as to hide subjection to the law of blood. In the seventh century Strongtsan-gampo subdued with his own the remaining tribes of the vast territory of Tibet.¹ Amalgamation was inevitable. In the tenth century the Tibetan Empire was extended over Northern India to the Bay of Bengal.² In Siam, about 1250 A.D., occurred a transfusion of Lao-tai, Khmer and Siamese peoples.³ Exactly three centuries later the country's greatest conqueror, Phra Naret, expanded the territory of this new people into Cambodia, Laos and other portions of the Malay peninsula.⁴

In Burma it was the same. The Mongols invaded the country in the thirteenth century and established dominion.⁵ In the early sixteenth century the Toungoo dynasty arose to widen the limits of the nation into empire.⁶ This led to a further comingling of blood, with the result that in the early nineteenth century Burma attained its maximum, conquering Siam, Assam and Manipur and penetrating Bengal.⁷ In the last half of the eleventh century the Seljuks conquered, consolidated and began amalgamation with the peoples of Transoxiana.⁸ Just three centuries later, in the last half of the fourteenth century, the mighty Timur, at the head of a new empire, spread his authority over all of Central and Western Asia.⁹

The Phoenecians founded Carthage in 822 B.C.

¹ Ency. Brit., XXVI, p. 926. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., XXV, p. 7. ⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid., IV, p. 843. ⁶ Ibid., p. 844. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid., XIV, p. 608.
⁹ Ibid., p. 608; XXVI, p. 994.

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and began amalgamation with the Libyans.¹ Three centuries later the Carthaginian empire spread out over the Mediterranean, conquering Sardinia, Sicily, cities in Spain and Italy and further territory nearer home.² This empire declined, but because of the new blood added to the older stock, three centuries later, under Hannibal (247-185 B.C.) Carthage conquered Spain and half of Italy.³ As this North African power went to pieces before Rome, Numidia, which had been given new blood by it, expanded under Massinissa (238-149 B. C.) over the lands from Mauretania to Cyrenaica.⁴ And as the tribe of Kinda extended its sway in the fifth century A.D.,⁵ causing a transfusion which eventuated in the empire of the late Omayyads and early Abassidas,⁶ so Mahomet in the late seventh century began an amalgamation of the fierce tribes of Arabia and caused, three centuries later, a further resumption of empire.⁷ After shedding the luster of its learning and institutions, this fell before the rising Turks and Byzantium.

The East Roman Empire, established by Constantine with the founding of Constantinople in 330 A.D., is a further exemplification of the law of blood. Though Roman law and government were at first transferred there from Rome itself, the transfusion which began under his authority with the Greeks, Goths, Avars and afterwards the Huns made a new nation with different customs, archi-

¹Ency. Brit., V, p. 428. ²Ibid. ³Ibid., V, p. 429. ⁴Ibid., XIX, p. 868. ⁵Ibid., II, p. 265. ⁶Ibid., V, p. 33 seq. ⁷Ibid., II, p. 267; V, pp. 50-51.

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ture and views of life.¹ The Goths had descended into the Macedonian peninsula and Greece in 259, and the Slavs settled in the provinces of the former at about the same time.² Consequently, the conquests under Justinian were made in the middle of the sixth century and up to the date of his death in 565.³

As Constantine brought about more thorough transfusion after 328, so Heraclius restored the conquests of Justinian which had dwindled in the meantime and in 628 equalled the furthest advancement into Persia of Roman arms.⁴ The rapid decline of the empire in the latter years of his reign was due not to lack of prowess on his part, but to the fact that the strength of his people had passed its maximum. And as the shake-up in his time had made the beginning of a further commingling of blood imperative, so, three centuries later, in the latter half of the tenth century the Byzantine Empire enjoyed a short respite of strength.⁵

Earlier, Sapor I, potentate of the Sassanid Empire, expanded his dominion over Syria and Armenia and assumed the title of "king of the kings of the Iranians and non-Iranians."⁶ This was the result of amalgamation which had taken place three centuries before during the upheavals caused by Cæsar, Pompey and Antony;⁷ and these were themselves caused by the Greek colonization of Philip and Alexander three hundred years previ-

¹ "Greece Under the Romans," by George Finlay (Dutton), p. 113 seq. ² *Ibid.*, p. 104. ³ *Ibid.*, Chap. iii. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112, 338, 339, 19. ⁵ "History of the Byzantine Empire," by George Finlay (Dutton), p. 301 seq. ⁶ *Ency. Brit.*, XXI, p. 219. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

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ous.¹ Following the widely extended expansion of Sapor in the middle of the third century, in the middle of the sixth century Chosroes I took Antioch, widened his power to the Black Sea and the Caucasus, ravaged Cappadocia and conquered Bactria.² This was not sufficient to give new conquering strength, though in the middle of the ninth century the Caliphate subdued with difficulty a serious revolt of Persian Mazdakite sectaries.³

In the adjacent lands east of Media the Parthians had in the middle of the second century B.C., under Mithradates I, extended their victories to the Indus and over Media and Babylon.⁴ These successes of the height of Parthian vitality may be ascribed to the annexations of Darius and Xerxes in this region three centuries before.⁵

Likewise in Mexico and Peru the law of blood has worked with perfect exactness. The Aztecs conquered the older peoples they found in Mexico.⁶ Upon the establishment of their sway in 1195 A.D., in what is now the City of Mexico, they celebrated the festival of "tying up the bundle of years" and beginning a new cycle.⁷ Amalgamation resulted. After exactly three centuries had gone by, they expanded into a great empire which extended from Panama to California.⁸ They had reached their zenith and were ready for their fall when the Spaniards arrived.

In Peru the Incas entered the Cuzco valley three

¹ Ency. Brit., XXI, p. 213. ² Ibid., p. 223. ³ Ibid., p. 225. ⁴ Ibid., XX, p. 871. ⁵ Ibid., XXI, p. 209. ⁶ Ibid., XVIII, p. 329 seq.

⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid.

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hundred years before Pizarro.¹ The evidence of subsequent transfusion lies in the fact that originally two languages were spoken.² Under Huana Capac, the Great Inca, the empire reached its height and extended from north of Quito to the southern part of the present Chili.³ He died the year before Pizarro reached Peru, in 1520.⁴ Then the Peruvian Empire, too, was ready for defeat.

Spanish women did not emigrate to Mexico and South America with the early conquerors. The soldiery, adventurers, ecclesiastics and colonists mingled with the natives. Transfusion followed. Three hundred years later, from 1810 to 1826, Latin America threw off the yoke of the motherland in revolution. In 1609 occurred a negro revolt in the Vera Cruz region and an Indian rebellion in Sinaloa and Durango.⁵ Blood mingled slightly. In 1910 came Madero's uprising.

It appeared to me at first, after I had examined the history of all the nations with scrupulous care, seeking to find refutation in my own mind of the law of blood, if possible, that the case of the Japanese might disprove it. Japan has had no transfusion for 1400 years at least and has never expanded until now, except to a limited degree in Korea. In 1917, with an area not much larger than the British Islands and about the size of the State of California, that nation had a population of 52,985,000. The people had been so densely settled they could hardly be fed. It needed no

¹ Ency. Brit., XXI, p. 274. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid., XVIII, p. 338.

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prophet to foresee that, like new wine in old bottles, they must break through at the expense of Asia; as they gave evidence of intention of doing when at the beginning of the great war they made demands upon China which meant the relinquishment of its sovereignty. No people in history were ever shut up so long or under such unique institutions.

And yet, it will be said, if the Japanese could defeat the Chinese Empire of 360,000,000 souls and the Russian Empire with 150,000,000 population and extending from the Baltic to the Pacific, without having begun an amalgamation of blood three centuries earlier, then the law is disproved. If the Chinese and Russians were vigorous races in their prime, this would be true, but what are the facts? The Chinese passed their zenith three thousand years ago. They have been conquered and reconquered since. They are as weak as water and cannot excel in the field of battle.

Is it wonderful, then, that the Japanese people, whose strength has been pent up so long, should have defeated China and have done it with modern weapons and a trained force which their opponents did not have? In the war of 1904-5 Russia was unable to get sufficient troops across the Trans-Siberian Railway and faced its enemy with but 300,000 men. Japan had the same number with a base of supplies near at hand. The Japanese fought two great battles, Liao-Yang and Mukden,

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each requiring more than a week, and only forced the Russians to retreat and take up a strong position. At the Portsmouth conference they could not even force an indemnity.

No doubt the Japanese did attain their strength three centuries after their amalgamation began. But they never utilized it. They held it back under a social and intellectual system which is itself repressive and peculiar. Percival Lowell observes that the Japanese speak, read and write backwards, and that this is only the abc of their contrariety; that they think backwards, upside-down and inside-out.¹ Lafcadio Hearn tells of "forms of unfamiliar action strange enough to suggest the notion of a humanity even physically as little related to us as might be the population of another planet."²

While the strength of the Japanese originally came from infusion of Mongolian, Korean, Chinese and Aino blood, the last such having immigrated in the sixth century, they could not keep that strength at the full, though bottled up.³ The Japanese are diminutive in stature. As far back as the Han and Wei records of China (25-265 A.D.) they were spoken of as dwarfs.⁴ By adopting western methods during the last half of the nineteenth century and with such strength as they have withheld they are able to conquer more territory in Eastern Asia, because of the weak peoples opposed to them, and further fulfill that part of the law of blood which

¹ Quoted by Lafcadio Hearn in his "Japan," p. 11. ² Ibid., p. 12. ³ Ency. Brit., XV, p. 256. ⁴ Ibid., p. 254.

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applies to expansion; but they have not the youthful vigor to successfully combat the United States. And such additional power as they attain will be short, because they have not the energy to maintain it. They, too, do not deny but keep the course of the law of blood.

Of the more important European nations entering the mightiest of conflicts, in what is now Russia were originally Scythians, Goths, Huns, Avars, Bulgarians, Magyars, Khazars and Slavs.¹ This is the fourth century. The mists of obscurity fall for a time and when they lift again in the tenth century there are Slavs, Krivitches, Polotchians, Dregovitches, Radimitches, Viatitches, Drevlians, Severians, Polians, Croats, Tivertses, Loutitches, Doulebes, Boujans, Tcheques, Lechites, Finns, Turks, Mongols, Letts, Livonians, Esthonians, Carelians, Lapps, Moravians, Bachkirs, Metcheraks and Tchouvachs.² These should be divided among Russian Slavs, Letto-Lithuanians, Finns, and Turko-Tartars or Mongols.³ During the last half of the fifteenth century Ivan III threw off the Mongol yoke, which had lasted more than two centuries, and consolidated the various dominions under the sway of Moscovy.⁴ Transfusion followed.

During the last years of the eighteenth century, in the reign of Catherine II, Russia reached its apex of power, expanding over an empire extending from

¹ "History of Russia," by Alfred Rambaud, Vol. i, p. 21. ² Ibid., p. 22. ³ Ibid., p. 32. ⁴ Ibid., p. 245 seq.

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Russian Poland to Behring Sea. To be exact, the Tartar yoke was thrown off between 1480 and 1487, and in 1503 the greater part of Lithuania was annexed.¹ In 1774 Catherine widened the empire to the Black Sea and the Danube.² Ten years later the Crimean peninsula was annexed.³ In 1792 she claimed Ochakov and the coast between the Bug and the Dneister.⁴ In 1795 Courland was taken, and the third of the partitions of Poland brought about the last of the great seizures of foreign territory.⁵ Siberia had been gradually absorbed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶ Having obtained its maximum under the empress, Russia was unable to withstand Napoleon, being defeated at Austerlitz and Friedland, and wasted his armies only by withdrawing into the interior and burning Moscow. In the following century Russia did nothing more than consolidate the territory already in its possession.

Italy has long since declined from that maximum of strength by which it conquered and expanded over other lands. Odoacer, an Herulian, ascended the throne of the Cæsars in 476.⁷ After that Rome soon fell before the Goths under Theodoric.⁸ Then from 539 to 553 appeared the Byzantines under Belisarius and Narses.⁹ They in turn were overcome by the Lombards.¹⁰ When Pope Gregory II

¹ Ency. Brit., XV, p. 244. ² Ibid., Vol. II, p. 130. ³ Ibid., p. 159. ⁴ Ibid., p. 165. ⁵ Ibid., p. 178. ⁶ Brit. Ency., XXV, p. 18. ⁷ "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," by Edward Gibbon, Vol. IV, p. 56. ⁸ "History of the Italian Republics," by J. C. L. Sismondi, p. 4. ⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

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united with these Lombards and threw off the yoke of Leo the Isaurian, the Eastern emperor, the beginnings of amalgamation might have been made.¹ But Pepin and then Charlemagne came, bringing an infusion of Franks into the peninsula and establishing a protectorate over it.² This, too, might have brought unity of all the strong new races, but after the latter's death his empire fell away.

"Under the degenerate descendants of Charlemagne," says Sismondi, "public spirit decayed, personal violence increased, jealousy, defiance and disdain rendered even neighboring villages hostile to each other; it became dangerous to sow the fields; the crops were subject to plunder and destruction, and wayside robbery was the rule."³ Then followed the Saracens, overrunning Sicily and Southern Italy.⁴ At this time Pope John VIII wrote to Charles the Bold: "If all the trees of the forest became tongues they could not describe the ravages of these impious pagans; the devout people of God are destroyed by the continuous slaughter; he who escapes fire and sword is taken into slavery; cities, castles, villages are wasted, and are without a living soul; bishops wander and get their bread as beggars or flee to Rome as their only place of refuge."⁵

The Byzantines returned late in the ninth century⁶ and afterwards the Magyars invaded and devastated the northern lands.⁷ Sismondi says:

¹ Gibbon, Vol. V, p. 278. ² Sismondi, p. 11. ³ Ibid., p. 9. ⁴ Ibid., p. 18 seq. ⁵ Ibid., p. 22. ⁶ Ibid., p. 21. ⁷ Ibid.

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“In Italy, owing to a variety of interfering forces, the disorders attendant on the weakness of central authority continued throughout the Middle Ages, and if the peculiar constitution of feudalism was less marked there than elsewhere, its real nature was more agile, and it endured for a longer time.”¹ It was Otto the Great who brought his Germans, or more properly speaking his Saxons in 961.² “Weary of turmoil, exhausted Italy clutched at the resuscitated empire as the last stay from despair.”³ He, too, began to establish cohesion, but after his death appeared in Southern Italy the Normans, completing their conquests in 1130.⁴

Finally Frederick Barbarossa of the Hohenstaufen line, crossed the Alps in 1154.⁵ After he had triumphed for a time the League of Cities was formed against him and the amalgamation of the many new bloods began.⁶ Italy did not at this time become one state, and therefore lost opportunity for again expanding into a unified empire, but exactly three centuries after Frederick had entered it and started the movement which began the process of transfusion the five powers of the peninsula extended their respective territories to their utmost limits—Venice under Foscari, the two Sicilies under Alphonso the Magnanimous, Milan under Francesco Sforza, the Papacy under Nicholas V and Florence under Cosimo de Medici—and this confederated Italy, for a time independent, gave new life to the world of art and literature in the

¹ Sismondi, p. 25. ² Ibid., p. 24. ³ Ibid., p. 26. ⁴ Ibid., 52 seq.
⁵ Ibid., p. 57. ⁶ Ibid., p. 107 seq.

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humanist movement known as the Renaissance.¹ This was the age of Michelangelo, Leonardo de Vinci, Christopher Columbus and Niccolo Machiavelli, the supreme height of Italian genius.²

United, the states of Italy might have withstood the shock of the northern invaders, but divided they soon fell before the armies of Spain, France, Austria and their Swiss auxiliaries.³ They had long been under the domination of the Hapsburgs when Napoleon liberated and united them. Then, when both France and Austria had passed their zenith, the peninsula was able to unite itself. But to contend that Italy was capable of conquering the Germany of 1914 would have been the same as to say that a nation can come back to expanding life after nearly four centuries have gone by since its death.

France, too, when the war began in 1914, had long since passed its zenith so far as ability to meet the German tide alone is concerned. With the break-up of the empire of Charlemagne, because of none to wield his sword, the land his grandson Charles ruled soon disintegrated into small principalities between which there was fighting for centuries.⁴ Different languages were spoken and it was impossible for a condition to be brought about whereby amalgamation of the Normans, Flemings and other new stocks might be made.⁵ Philip Augustus in the thirteenth century started such a process, but in only a portion of the realm that was to be modern France.⁶ Con-

¹ Sismondi, p. 737 seq. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., p. 759 seq. ⁴ "A History of France," by J. R. M. Macdonald, Vol. I, p. 80. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid., pp. 131-2.

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tinued internecine strife and the Hundred Years' War drew the forces even further from union.¹

It was not until the reigns of Louis XI, Charles VII and Louis XII that the peoples were consolidated into one.² Before his death in 1483 Louis XI, the Frederick the Great of France, had annexed Burgundy and Provence and extended the southern boundaries to the Pyrenees.³ After his wars with it Brittany finally came to his son Charles VIII through the marriage of the latter with Anne of Brittany in 1491.⁴ Louis XII married the widow in 1499.⁵ He added Orleans to his domain.⁶ Internal warfare began to cease under these kings and one-third of the realm was restored to cultivation.⁷ The peasantry enjoyed rest and laid the foundations of French thrift.⁸ Society took on the forms it was to maintain, including taxation and systems of law and judicial procedure.⁹

It may be said that between the years 1499 and 1515 France was organized.¹⁰ That this is so is shown by the fact that French historians date the beginning of absolute monarchy from 1515. In this period commenced the amalgamation of the Iberians, the Ligurian strains of the Mediterranean, the inconsiderable German admixture in the east, the Normans, the Basques of the Pyrenees, the Flemings of French Flanders, the new Burgundian acquisitions and the original Frankish and Celtic

¹ "A History of France," p. 203. ² Ibid., p. 332. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid., p. 341. ⁵ Ibid., p. 353. ⁶ "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. I, p. 397. ⁷ Ibid., p. 399. ⁸ Ibid., p. 398-9. ⁹ Ibid., p. 403. ¹⁰ Ibid., Chap. xii.

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stocks. Just three centuries later the life thus created burst forth with volcanic energy in the French Revolution, and under Napoleon extended over Egypt in 1799, Italy between 1797 and 1809, Holland in 1806, Spain and part of Portugal in 1807 and 1808, nearly all of present Germany between 1805 and 1807, and Illyria in 1809.¹ This was the maximum. After such tremendous efforts and the losses in Russia it was an exhausted France that faced the British squares at Waterloo in 1815. As the result of this exhaustion the French Empire dissolved.

Britain, at the beginning of the great war in outward appearances the mightiest empire in the world, had long since reached its maximum, though ready to again demonstrate its old solidarity of spirit. To the island originally inhabited by the Scots, Picts, Britons and then the Romans, emigrated the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in the fifth century, extending their separate conquests in the following two hundred years.² To them were added Danes with a small sprinkling of Scandinavians in the last years of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century.³ Alfred held them back.⁴ Then came the great Danish inundation in the first years of the eleventh century under Sweyn and afterwards Canute, who finally conquered the country and made it a part of the Danish Empire. Unity might then have begun, but Canute died in 1035

¹ Ency. Brit., X, p. 860 seq. ² "A Short History of the English People," by J. R. Green, p. 1. ³ Ibid., p. 42. ⁴ Ibid., p. 44.

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and in 1066 appeared a flood of Normans under William the Conqueror, who also brought with him an inconsiderable amount of Breton, Frank and Flemish blood.¹ The Normans subdued England proper, but mutual hatreds and warfare under feudalism were long continued.²

It was in the reign of Edward I that transfusion started.³ Between 1282 and 1295 he conquered Wales.⁴ He took the lower part of Scotland and nominally subdued the entire realm for a time.⁵ When he died in 1307 he had begun to make England over, though the Scots were already in revolt.⁶ However, the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses prevented any thorough amalgamation of the peoples of the island until after the fiercest of the battles of the latter wars ceased in 1461.⁷ From this time, when the attention of the country was turned away from dominion in France to national development, and through the reign of Henry Tudor, opportunity for understanding between the races was found.⁸ From this English King's accession in 1485 until his death in 1509 he established order and unity.⁹ With the marriage of Henry's daughter to James IV of Scotland, leading later to the Stewart dynasty, thorough social and political equality with Englishmen was started.¹⁰ England, Scotland and Wales began to

¹ "A Short History of the English People," p. 68 seq. ² Ibid., p. 75 seq. ³ Ibid., p. 158. ⁴ Ibid., p. 150 seq. ⁵ Ibid., p. 169 seq. ⁶ Ibid., p. 158. ⁷ Ibid., p. 272 seq. ⁸ Ibid., p. 284 seq. ⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid., XVIII, p. 264.

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breathe a new life in unison in the half century between 1461 and 1513.¹

The conquest of Ireland was begun under Henry II in 1162, but thorough amalgamation of the Irish with the peoples of the main island never resulted, due partly to the fact that Ireland is a territory separated by water from the suzerain power and partly to that governmental policy adopted by successive English kings, which is best summed up by Macauley: "Ireland was undisguisedly governed as a dependency won by the sword. Her rude national institutions had perished. The English colonists submitted to the dictation of the mother country without whose support they could not exist, and indemnified themselves by trampling on the people among whom they had settled. The parliaments which met at Dublin could pass no law which had not been previously approved by the English Privy Council. The authority of the English legislature extended over Ireland. The executive administration was intrusted to men taken either from England or from the English pale, in either case regarded as foreigners."²

Transfusion having started in the British Island in the last years of the thirteenth century, expansion began under Elizabeth in the last years of the sixteenth century—the time of Shakespeare. New Foundland was taken in 1583.³ The Spanish Armada was defeated in 1588.⁴ The West Indies,

¹ Green, p. 272 seq. ² "History of England," Vol. I. p. 73.

³ Ency. Brit., IV, p. 608. ⁴ Green, p. 394 seq.

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much of Canada and parts of India were annexed in the seventeenth century.¹ And as further amalgam of British blood occurred after 1461, the maximum of British conquests came three centuries later. From 1753 to 1760 Clive conquered India.² All of Canada remaining to France was wrested from it in 1763.³ Green says: "England had never played so great a part in the history of mankind as now. The year 1579 was a year of triumph in every quarter of the world. In September came the news of Minden and of a victory off Lagos. In October came tidings of the capture of Quebec. November brought word of the French defeat at Quiberon. 'We are forced to ask every morning what victory there is,' laughed Horace Walpole, 'for fear of missing one.'"⁴ In 1770 Cook peacefully established British suzerainty in Australia.⁵

Having passed the zenith of its land aggression, England lost its colonies in central North America to the United States. When the empire of Napoleon began to decline, because of having in its turn expended its strength, Wellington triumphed in the Spanish peninsula and overthrew the Emperor at Waterloo with the aid of the Prussians. Britain was able to do this and to hold its colonies by sea power and the strength it had gained by amalgamations up to 1515, sweeping the ocean of its enemies in 1806. The subsequent acquisitions of territory in Africa and Australia were mainly without con-

¹ Ency. Brit., IV, pp. 608-9. ² Green, p. 708 seq. ³ Ibid., p. 712.
⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ency. Brit., II, p. 959.

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quest and by this naval power and the prestige of its name. Up to 1914 the British Empire had had no real trial of strength since 1815. The brush with the Boers was desultory and proved nothing except that with all the resources of the Empire two and a half years were required to finish the task. But that struggle roused Britain to its greater work.

With its zenith passed a century and more, the British Empire, however, could not hope by itself to conquer a younger and more virile power on the land, and it became more and more apparent that in order to hold its possessions it must rely chiefly upon its fleets and its ability to gather new forces into the fight in order to stem the tide until the wave of fresh vitality with its autocratic menace had expended itself. Whether the rule of Britannia over the waves could be maintained permanently in spite of the law of blood was a question from the beginning of the war. They may appear to have been maintained at Aboukir Bay and Trafalgar, but the British people were still near their maximum.

The presumption throughout all the centuries of the working out of this law was decidedly against the continuance in power permanently of any empire. It seemed unlikely, so far as science could throw any light on the problem, that massive and preponderating instruments of steel and gunnery on the water could protect a blood which by itself no longer had conquering vigor, though plenty of defensive strength, unless it could combine with a

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sufficient number of allies to hold the seas and Western Europe until the most terrible storm in history had passed.

In spite of our own entrance into a righteous war against the Central Powers to the utmost extent of our lives, money and other resources, and in spite of the just indignation against the German government which the conflict engendered among us, we must have only historical and scientific truth in view when we examine the development of the German people, so recently at their maximum after exactly three centuries since the beginning of their amalgamation.

It will be contended that the people out of which the present Germany is made are Teutons and have been united by ties of race from time immemorial. But the Germans are a new stock. Never before the present time has there been a unified German people. It is true that in Roman history appeared the name of the Teutoni, a tribe which is said to have originated in the neighborhood of Denmark and was defeated by the consul Marius in 102 B.C. when it expanded into Gaul and attacked the gates of Italy, and was so named after its legendary original father (stammvater).¹ But this was only a single people which for a time dominated the Cimbri and Ausones who accompanied them, and was then swallowed up among others.²

The sobriquet of German or "shouting man" was given by the Romans to all those peoples who

¹ Tacitus, "Germania," II; Ency. Brit., XI, p. 829. ² Ibid., XXVI, p. 679.

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surged westward across the Rhine from Central Europe and uttered loud cries as they entered into battle, irrespective of whether they were related or not. Tacitus says: "The people who first passed the Rhine and took possession of a canton in Gaul, though known at present (about 100 A.D.) by the name of Tungrians, were in that expedition called Germans, and hence the title assumed by a band of emigrants, in order to spread a general terror in their progress, extended itself by degrees and became in time the appellation of a whole people."¹ The Roman historian then goes on to show that each of the peoples east of the Rhine was at that time exerting its strength or had fallen to decay. Each was separate and different from the others.

Archeology has attempted to bridge the demarcation between them, but its conclusions are purely speculative. Neither this science nor philology holds the key to these early peoples. The expansion of each alone can explain any traces of the civilization it may have left outside its original territory. The change of names among them in the early centuries, so puzzling to historians, is due to their transfusion into new peoples who in their turn held sway for a while and then disappeared. With some scholars the term "Teutonic" has been used to designate a type of blue-eyed and light-haired peoples in Northern Europe. But they receive that type only from climate, as contrasted with dark haired and eyed races near the equator.

Says the *Brittanica Encyclopædia*, a monument

¹ "Germania," II.

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to the scholarship of the British race, "It is to be observed that the term 'Teutonic' is of scholastic and not of popular origin, and this is true of the other terms ('Germanic,' 'Gothic,' etc.), which are or have been used in the same manner. There is no generic term now in popular use either for the language or for the peoples, for the reason that their common origin has been forgotten."¹

The use of general terms to cover lack of precise knowledge proves nothing. Thus it is extremely unlikely that there ever was a widespread Aryan people. Philologists have discovered that the barest similarity of root of language pervades peoples from India to Europe. Some of these scholars (less Max Muller, who scoffed at the contention) have set up the preposterous postulate that all such peoples are descended from an Aryan race. If the records of the present time were lost and three thousand years hence certain pedants observed that among the peoples of Europe and the Americas there was a basis of similarity of Latin derivative, would a presumption that their common ancestors were at one time Roman be justified? Is it wiser to conclude that because there was before the Christian era a tribe known as the Teutoni, and because the Romans gave a general nickname to the peoples east of the Rhine who advanced against them with loud battle shouts, that all the peoples in the latter district were at one time one?

No more intelligent is the claim that there is an Anglo-Saxon race. The Angles, Saxons and Jutes

¹ Ency. Brit., XXVI, p. 679.

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were submerged by the Danes and then by the Normans. Amalgamated, they made a British people. In America we have a conglomerate of the entire white race which constitutes the American people. As close as the feeling between them may be because of similarity of language, common law and fundamental ideals, the British and American peoples are entirely separate. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that nations amalgamate into unity. Having united their blood, they cannot, in the nature of the case, disunite them. Hence it is impossible that there could have been an original Germanic or Teutonic people which disintegrated.

After the Romans had defeated the Teutoni and Cimbri, they came in contact before and immediately after the beginning of the Christian era with the following peoples which had their habitation east of the Rhine: Bructeri, Chatti, Cherusci, Chauci, Langobardi, Cimbri, Cherudes, Rauraci, Mediomatrici, Sequani, Tribocci, Nemetes, Vangiones, Mattiaci, Ubii, Sugambri, Tencteri, Usipetes, Ampsivarii, Chasuarii, Marsi, Angrivarii, Cannefates, Frisii, Marcomanni, Quadi, Hermanduri, Semnones, Varini, Burgundiones, Lugii, Galindi and Ampsivarii.¹ By the fourth century A.D. these tribes or peoples had solidified into the Franks, Alamanni, Goths, Vandals, Heruli, Saxons, Burgundians and Langobardi.² In the sixth century the predominant peoples were the Franks, Frisians, Saxons, Alamanni, Bavarians (fused with Marcomanni),

¹ Ency. Brit., XI, p. 830. ² Ibid., p. 831.

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Langobardi (Lombards), Heruli, Warni and Thuringii.¹

To the east of the Saxons were the Polabs and Havelli.² In the northeast were the Prussi, Lithuani, Milcieni, Lusici, Warnabi and Leuteci, together with the Pomeranians, the progenitors of the modern Prussians.³ After the period of the great migrations there began to grow up in what is now Germany the separate dominions of the Saxons, Thuringians, Alamanni and Suevi (Swabia), Ripuarian Franks (Franconia), and Bavarians.⁴ A thousand years were to pass before they would begin unification. Charlemagne started such a process as he had in Italy, subjugating the Saxons, but after his death the former disintegration was resumed.⁵ His grandson Charles wielded a temporary and nominal sway over the great empire, but the Normans came into the north to help break this up, and afterwards the long night of separate dukedoms and feudalism in Germany began.⁶

Through the Middle Ages the different principalities were maintained.⁷ Even under Otto the Great and Frederick Barbarossa there was no tendency toward union of peoples.⁸ The dukes constantly extended their privileges and separate rights by the sale of allegiance to the emperors during their contests with the Papacy to maintain jurisdiction in the Holy Roman Empire—that great phantom of the mediæval mind.⁹ Neither German

¹ Ibid. ² Ibid., p. 832. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid., p. 833. ⁶ Ibid.
⁷ Ibid., p. 833-4. ⁸ Ibid., pp. 835, 841. ⁹ Ibid., pp. 835-841.

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king nor emperor was hereditary, but elective and in the hands of the dukes.¹ Nor was either confined to a single dukedom. Thus Henry the Fowler and the first three Ottos were Saxons, Henry II was a Bavarian, Conrad II a Franconian, as were Henry III to V, Lothair was duke of Saxony, and Frederick Barbarossa, Henry V, Philip and Frederick II were Swabians.²

Finally internecine wars and long absences of the emperors in Italy, where Guelph and Guibbeline continued fighting, caused even the dukedoms to break up.³ There were archbishops, bishops, abbots, dukes, margraves, landgraves and counts who claimed no superior but the emperor whose authority they had destroyed.⁴ Petty knights and barons descended upon passing travellers.⁵ The peasantry and serfs of the different principalities did not mingle.⁶ Culture and refinement prevailed only in the courts of the great dukes.⁷ Leagues of cities were local.⁸

To digress briefly, the last half of the thirteenth century saw the beginnings of Austrian power. The *Oesterreich*, or East Realm, had been occupied in old time by the Quadi, Taurici and considerable Marcomanni.⁹ There had been in Styria, Carinthia, Triest and Istria strata of Huns, Slovenes, Avars, Franks, Moravians and Magyars.¹⁰ Under Rudolph of Hapsburg Austria extended its dominion over

¹ Ency. Brit., XI, p. 845. ² Ibid., p. 834 seq. ³ Ibid., p. 845.
⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Ibid., p. 844. ⁸ Ibid., p. 845. ⁹ Ibid., III, p. 5. ¹⁰ Ibid.

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and consolidated the districts named and made it possible to start a process of amalgamation.¹ In the last half of the sixteenth century the Austrian people thus created attained their maximum and conquered Bohemia, most of Hungary (due to the death of Suleiman and the decline of Turkish power), Slavonia and Transylvania.

It was the Spanish Charles V who inherited this dominion, as well as the old Hapsburg territories in the Netherlands and the Spanish conquests in Italy.² But Austria had expended its strength, accepting the feudal and nominal allegiance of the northern principalities and interfering very little therein.³ If there had been a complete transfusion of Austrian and Hungarian blood after the conquests in the latter part of the sixteenth century, Austria would now, three centuries later, have been within itself again a great power. But Hungary has kept its identity, customs, language and political institutions and the transfusion has been inconsiderable, though enough to add new strength to Austria. Bohemia, too, has maintained its language.

When the foundations of Austria were laid in the thirteenth century the German kingship was held in such light esteem, due to the constant disintegration, that it was conferred electively upon a Bohemian, a Moravian and then a Hungarian.⁴ In the fifteenth century the disunion among the dukedoms increased, and few of the elective kings had any authority except over their own original juris-

¹ Ency. Brit., III, p. 6. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid., XI, p 845 seq.

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diction.¹ In the north was constant fighting among the duchies.² Austria gradually drew away from the principalities there, now added to by Brandenburg under the Hohenzollerns.³ These were indifferent to Austria's foreign wars.⁴ Local diets administered them and the princes were practically sovereigns.⁵

The breaking away from the church in the Reformation awakened the peoples, but merely accentuated their territorial separateness.⁶ When Luther appeared the sole pure German language was that of the chanceries.⁷ With that as a basis he translated the Bible and made what grew into a common language later.⁸ But the principal states still spoke different tongues.⁹ The attempts of Sickingen and Hutton to establish unity resulted in their deaths.¹⁰ The League of Schmalkalden fell apart and the Protestant states fought each other with great cruelty.¹¹ The empire had now disintegrated into three hundred separate territorial entities.¹²

It was not until 1618, at the opening of the Thirty Years' War, that the peoples of the present Germany started amalgamation. In their struggle against the Papacy and the Austrian Empire the Saxons, Prussians, Bavarians, Franconians, Thuringians, Swabians and Pomeranians began to feel a common interest.¹³ In the awful process by which

¹ Ency. Brit., XI, p. 849 seq.; "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. II, p. 14. ² Ibid., Vol. I, Chap. ix; Ency. Brit., XI, p. 849. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid., pp. 849-50. ⁵ Ibid., p. 850. ⁶ Ibid., pp. 851-2. ⁷ Ibid., p. 788. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ "Martin Luther," by A. C. McGiffert, pp. 225-6. ¹⁰ Ency. Brit., XI, p. 852. ¹¹ Ibid., p. 855. ¹² "Holy Roman Empire," by James Bryce, p. 394. ¹³ Ency. Brit., XI, p. 857 seq.

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their population was cut down from twenty to six millions in thirty years and, cannibalism is said to have been practiced, was forged the weapon by which modern Germany was made.¹ With the exception of two years nearly all the fighting took place in the south, particularly Bavaria and Bohemia, leaving the northern peoples to be drawn together by mutual ties. These thought and fought as one.² Feudalism disappeared.³ Turenne's incursion into Bavaria saved its people for amalgamation into the future German Empire.⁴ By the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, having loved freedom enough to die for it, they made it certain that men should be allowed to think as they pleased.⁵

Then came Frederick the Great, who, with the sword of Prussia, tempered by the vital blood, principally Pomeranian, that had been infused with it, further consolidated the peoples. Each of the older states—Bavaria, Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia and Swabia (now Wurtemberg)—had had its time. It was Prussia that took the lead. Napoleon brought about still greater union, first by conquering and giving these peoples law and then by arousing their patriotic ardor to defeat him. Finally came Bismarck and then William II, and the Germans—no longer Bavarians, Saxons, Thuringians, Prussians, Franks, Pomeranians—after three centuries of transfusion were enabled to expand at the expense of the older peoples from the very beginning of the war in 1914.

¹ Ency. Brit., XI, p. 860. ² Ibid., p. 857 seq. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid., p. 859. ⁵ Ibid., p. 861.

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In this expansion Germany again fulfilled the law of blood, which provides that every nation at its zenith shall impose its sovereignty over other lands, just as the bud rises to bloom, flowers and decays. Every other European power had, when the war began, already done so. Britain had spread over a fourth of the globe and controlled a fourth of its population. Its most aggressive sons had gone to Canada, the United States, Australia, South Africa and India. The least vital remained at home. These called upon the colonies to help them. Canada, Australia and South Africa responded liberally, but they could not conquer alone on the battlefield; they are of one blood. They not only could not advance but were driven back until the Americans appeared. Of Australians, 97 per cent. are British. In Canada, with the exception of French Quebec, nearly all are so. The three hundred millions in India were ruled by 165,000 Englishmen. This was no miracle, but the law of blood; for they have been so weak and orderly under so small a number because of efficient British rule and awe of the British name.

Britain gave to the earth constitutional liberty and representative government. It gave birth to four great nations. It taught its institutions to India. It did as great a work as has ever been done by any nation, with the exception of the United States, in all the history of mankind. France gave art and literature to the modern world. Russia gave a semblance of order to the semi-barbaric tribes that surged westward from Asia, and thereby

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protected the civilization of Europe. Italy in its renewal of life gave the Renaissance. But mighty conquering forces of themselves they could no longer be, and it was the presumption until the United States entered the war that they must take on the original form from which they started to expand, if they had not already done so. And so every nation has its time. Every nation does a work. Every nation falls to decay. None comes back to again conquer new territory. It is the same as with a man whose body dies, but whose work lives on.

When the curtain arose upon the conflict in 1914 it found England fighting for the neutrality of Belgium, for a preponderance of influence in Europe and for commercial supremacy. It found France anxious to retake Alsace-Lorraine. It found Russia ambitious to enter the Mediterranean. It found Italy aloof because of a purpose to gain increased dominion and prestige at the expense of Austria. It found Japan seeking to aid its ally, England. It found Serbia, Montenegro and Belgium struggling for independence. And it found Germany with its mailed fist upon Belgium and ready to Prussianize and Junkerize the world.

How different this was from that softer side which had been evident for a century may be gathered from the statement of President Wilson that Germany had surpassed Europe and America and that all the world had gone to school to her. Germany had conceived the Kriss Kringle and was the toy maker of the world; had given the highest

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expression in modern music, through the melodies of a Mendelssohn, a Beethoven, a Strauss, a Bach, a Meyerbeer, a Schumann, a Brahms, a Wagner; caused the desire to join in chorus of song in the thousands of singing societies throughout the Empire; created and developed the kindergarten, technical training and specialization; added the thought of Leibnitz, Lessing, Schleiermacher, Fichte, Kant, Schelling, Hegel, Nietzsche and Eucken, and the poetry of Goethe, Schiller and Hauptmann; produced Koch, Virchow and Schliemann in the respective fields of bacteriology, pathology and archeology; achieved marvels in medicine and surgery; given the world modern sanitation; enacted a poor law which abolished poverty; reduced illiteracy to less than one half of one per cent.; and in administrative system, particularly municipal government, and all that meant the application of scientific method, outdistanced any of its European rivals. James Bryce in the latest revision of his "Holy Roman Empire" speaks of that "breadth of development in German thought and literature by virtue of which in the first half of the nineteenth century it transcended the French hardly less than the Greek surpassed the Roman."

But now, at the beginning of the war in 1914, Germany threw aside these refining influences and came forth as the ruthless exponent of its Emperor, who said: "There is only one law—my law—the law which I myself lay down." Blood vitality at maximum gave the submarine to shake the commerce of the earth as it had not been shaken since

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the disappearance of Venice as a sea power. It gave the genius of a Hindenburg and a Mackensen to crush the empire of the Czar, advance in the Balkans and seize Northern France. It gave the hope and purpose to take vengeance upon Italy, wrest all of Africa from its enemies possessing it, and restore the Empire of the West. Vital German blood and German generals won in Galicia after decadent Austria had been driven back to the Carpathians, did a similar work in Italy, assisted the Turks, and with undying hate declared that England should have the fate of Babylon: "Oh, thou that dwellest in many waters, great in treasures, thy end is come, the full measure of thy selfish robbery."

Hopeful of conquering in the end unless the older peoples could, with the arms, ammunition and food provided by the United States, continue the struggle until three full Teutonic centuries had passed in 1918 and they should be finally overwhelmed as was Napoleon after the French had reached their maximum, the Germans fought with a ferocity like that of "the beast, dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly, with great iron teeth" foreseen by Daniel. Three years of such fighting caused Lloyd George to admit in the House of Commons that the chief dependence of the Allied cause rested upon the United States. In a speech early in 1918 Gen. Leonard Wood warned: "This is a war against efficiency, against a degree of efficiency such as the world has never before witnessed. Do not underestimate the strength of the enemy you are sending

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your men against. He is skilled in war, trained in arms, wonderfully well led, and also brave and enduring. We may damn his methods and condemn his morals and denounce his object in the war, but do not let us underestimate his value as a fighting machine."

When this country entered the mighty conflict in 1917 it had less than an hundred thousand men in its standing army hardly worthy of the name. The navy had not been recruited to its full strength. Despite these wholly inadequate forces, but with the immense resources of America in mind, President Wilson nobly announced to Congress and the world a crusade against autocracy and for democratic institutions everywhere. Almost while he was speaking Russia had ostensibly become a part of it. H. G. Wells, the novelist, at the same time proposed that Britain become a republic, carrying along with it liberty for India and Ireland. It was to be hoped that Italy and Japan would join in the movement as it gained even further momentum. The President had voiced the goal of humanity and by his leadership of the tremendous efforts initiated by him to raise adequate disciplined military forces proved he realized that more than vague humanitarianism was needed to bring it about. Isaiah long ago and Tennyson had also predicted the coming of a democratic age, and many others have at intervals announced its advent. But it is the lesson of the ages that only by struggle can it arrive.

Upon Congress declaring war it could not but be

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foreseen that if the British Empire was not first forced by the German submarines to go the way of all the earth, and Germany was not able to exert its utmost strength beyond the very limit of its three hundred years of amalgamation, we should be able to raise and equip forces more than sufficient to overthrow the modern colossus at the head of which William II ruled in blood and iron. On the other hand, it was also perceived that if England should succumb to the subsea menace, our entrance into the conflict could not but be the mere beginning of an even greater contest for supremacy between America and Germany. With the knowledge of our greater transfusion, it was a certainty with us that we should crush Germany in the end. No matter what it might accomplish against the remainder of Europe in the war of wars, we had the scientific assurance that it must inevitably succumb finally to our far more virile and now awakened power. With these facts in our possession we knew that the defeat of the mighty enemy could not be stayed. Because the law of blood works with exactness the spreading out of Germany on the continent was unavoidable. So Japan with its compressed population has expanded in Eastern Asia. We alone were able to destroy the German power. And thus we have the strength to end all empires.

Peoples without transfusion have been without extra territorial dominion. The Irish with practically the same Celtic stock for two thousand years have been held in subjection by the many times amalgamated British. The negroid peoples of Af-

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rica south of the great desert and without transfusion have made no impression upon history. Only those north of that waste of land who have mixed with Mediterranean peoples have added to the pages of man's record. The Philippines have produced no conqueror because containing only an expansion of an older Malay race and not an amalgamation, as in the case of Japan. South America is of one Spanish blood, with the exception of uninfused Italians, Germans and Portugese, the latter so similar to the Spanish as to be almost one. That continent, for this reason and because of climate, holds for the immediate future no conquering people. Nor does Australia. In every other part of the world each people has had its day of expanding strength with the exception of the Americans and perhaps the Japanese. We, having the most profuse transfusion of blood since Adam, have nothing to fear from any race, kingdom or clime, and in our time will subdue all, if necessary, in order to rear our ideal of liberty for mankind.

It is but natural that the United States, in giving to mankind that which is of itself in government and ideals, should combat and utterly defeat other peoples so as to compel each world empire to return within original limits. Hence it may be that it will have to wield the sword as no predecessor on the face of the earth has done, if the result cannot be attained peaceably, and thus it should have adequate military service and a navy second to none. Awakening of peoples to the example of our free institutions may bring revolutions and make it

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less necessary for it to oppose empires; yet it has also a destiny to preserve order and civilization. Conquer and destroy it will in the meantime, but it will not do its mightiest work until three hundred years after the beginning of amalgamation of blood within its borders and when the American people shall have reached the maximum of their strength.

That transfusion, it would seem, began about the year 1638, when the Dutch West India Company for the first time threw open to the world the right to cultivate land in New Amsterdam in free allodial proprietorship.¹ All privileges were then extended equally to other nationalities in the same degree as to Dutchmen. Indeed, direct encouragement to immigration was provided. Each settler was given a farm free for six years with barn, horses, cows, sheep and swine. The only monopoly retained by the company was the carrying of the newcomers. The way was thus opened for the migration of Dutch, Swedes, Huguenots and Englishmen and their subsequent intermingling. At Christmas of that year came the first shipload to mark the beginning of a new era.

Certainly this policy did not extend elsewhere. John Fiske says that "the Puritan exodus to New England which came to an end about the year 1640 was purely and exclusively English. There was nothing in it that came from the continent of Europe, nothing that was either Irish or Scotch, very little that was Welsh. As Palfrey says, the population of 26,000 that had been planted in New Eng-

¹ "The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America," by John Fiske, Vol I, p. 149 (II. ed.).

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land by 1640 'thenceforward continued to multiply on its own soil for a century and a half in remarkable exclusion from other communities.' ''¹ Those on the *Mayflower* were solely subjects of James I. In Virginia and Maryland the early colonists were likewise English. In the far south and southwest the Spaniards brooked no intruders. Further north the French maintained exclusiveness. That port which was renamed New York alone made way for the mightiest overthrow of history. So many English and others came to it that they were at first compelled to swear allegiance to the Director of the New Netherlands, the States General and the Prince of Orange.

It is a remarkable fact that at this very period of the beginning of the strength of the American people there also germinated those ideals of society and government which that force was destined to spread over the entire world. In 1639 the towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield formed a union, with a legislative body known as a general court, in what was to become Connecticut. Fiske relates:

"At the opening session of the General Court, May 31, 1638, Mr. Hooker preached a sermon of wonderful power, in which he maintained that 'the foundation of authority is laid in the consent of the people,' 'that the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance,' and that 'they who have power to appoint officers and magistrates have the right also to set the

¹ "The Beginnings of New England," p. 136.

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bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.'

"On the 14th of January, 1639, all the freemen of those towns assembled at Hartford and adopted a written constitution in which the hand of the great preacher is clearly discernible. It is worthy of note that this document contains none of the conventional references to a 'dread sovereign' or a 'gracious king' nor the slightest allusion to the British or any other government outside of Connecticut itself, nor does it prescribe any condition of church membership for the right of suffrage. It was the first written constitution known to history, that created a government [The compact drawn up in the *Mayflower's* cabin was not, in the strict sense, a constitution, which is a document defining and limiting the functions of government. Magna Charter partook of the nature of a written constitution, as far as it went, but it did not create a government] and it marked the beginnings of American democracy, of which Thomas Hooker deserves more than any other man to be called the father.

"The government of the United States today is in lineal descent more nearly related to that of Connecticut than to any other of the thirteen colonies. The most noteworthy feature of the Connecticut republic was that it was a federation of independent towns, and all attributes of sovereignty not expressly granted to the General Court remained, as of original right, in the towns. Moreover, while the governor and council were chosen by a majority

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vote of the whole people, and by a suffrage that was almost universal, there was for each township an equality of representation in the assembly. This little federal republic was allowed to develop peacefully and normally; its constitution was not violently wrenched out of shape like that of Massachusetts at the end of the seventeenth century. It silently grew until it became the strongest political structure on the continent, as was illustrated in the remarkable military energy and the unshaken financial credit of Connecticut during the Revolutionary War. And in the chief crisis of the Federal Constitution of 1787, Connecticut with her compromise which secured equal state representation in one branch of the national government and popular representation in the other, played the controlling part."¹

Between 1631 and 1637 Roger Williams in Massachusetts expressed views which, if carried into effect, meant the entire separation of church and state, the equal protection of all forms of religious faith, the repeal of all laws compelling attendance on public worship, the abolition of tithes and of all forced contributions to the support of religion.² In New Amsterdam the Dutch provided for elementary schools at public expense, in 1635 the town of Boston took action to the end that "our brother Philomon Pormort shall be entreated to become school master for the teaching and nurturing children with us," and in 1636 Harvard College was founded. In 1638 also negotiations were begun for

¹ "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. VII, p. 23. ² Ibid., p. 124.

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a federal union of the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth.¹

Computing with scientific exactitude, it was decreed in 1638 that in 1938 the American people should attain their greatest power. Because their ideal is the government of Thomas Hooker, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, and because since the early date the liberty and opportunity loving of every land have come to our shores in increasing numbers—before the great war at the rate of a million annually—it is certain that the power of the United States will be maintained at maximum for another three hundred years, a sufficient period to establish any federation of the world on a firm and unalterable basis. Should this government extend its borders so as to embrace the continent and many more immigrants come from other lands, a still further period of blood admixture would result, with a concomitant extension of power. A nation cannot give more than it is. Ours is one wherein it is guaranteed that all men everywhere shall be free. Hence only monarchy and autocracy have aught to fear from an ever mightier America.

It may be that we have reached our apex sooner, but there is not the slightest trustworthy evidence of amalgamation in America before 1638. Our recent achievements would lead us to think that our transfusion has been so constant that we are an exception to the otherwise unalterable rule of nature that three hundred years be required for cul-

¹ "The Beginnings of New England," by John Fiske, p. 153.

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mination of the strength of a people, and that we were thus able to turn the scale in Europe. Our armies came in contact with those of Germany at the final and maximum effort of the latter and accomplished their purpose by resistless energy in four months. At any rate, the law of blood assures us that it is the destiny of the United States to expand within contiguous limits during the coming decades and annihilate not only the Spanish and German power, as in the past, but all other empires, if they do not in the meantime become republics and allow full and free self-determination.

Whether the struggle requires a few or many years, when we shall have accomplished our task all kings will have disappeared as the result of our battling or our thoroughly successful and highly altruistic example. With almost the entire world against Germany for a time, due to our entering the war, and a resultant initially enhanced community of interest and a high appreciation on the part of all peoples of the beneficent efforts of the United States, our work is thoroughly under way in what Heine termed "the liberation war of humanity." America will at maximum of strength revivify and make free a world of men.

CHAPTER II

REPUBLICANISM VS. MONARCHISM

"We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."—Declaration of Independence.

"The world is not going to consist now of great empires. It is going to consist for the most part of small nations, and the only thing that can bind small nations together is the knowledge that each wants to treat the other fairly."—Woodrow Wilson, at Milan.

THOUGH the earth by means of a tremendous conflict during the brief period of four years has been rid of the autocratic domination of three once potent and feared dynasties, and has thereby immeasurably advanced central and eastern Europe in the direction of political freedom, its work and that of the United States in this respect will remain only partially done, no matter how much the ideal of a league of powers temporarily acting together may point to its completion, so long as a third of the land surface of the globe is still infested by monarchy and some peoples do not yet

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enjoy self determination and republican institutions.

Indeed it may be said that while any king anywhere either exerts authority or holds title the full ends of liberty can never be achieved. The Hapsburgs had ruled in splendor for six hundred years, the Romanoffs for three hundred years and the Hohenzollerns for seven hundred years. The allied countries have rejoiced that their blood and sacrifice have helped to bring an end to such absolutism. For with them passed forever the force of the principle of the divine right of kings, an event the most important since the termination by Napoleon in 1806 of the Holy Roman Empire, which for so many centuries had claimed unlimited authority. With them also disappeared the Germanic Empire, which had exerted so wide an influence in the history of men in the eleven hundred years since Charlemagne, as well as the Turko-Tartar power on the borders of Asia. With them expired the close connection between religion and state which had meant to both Latin and Greek Christianity so much of bitterness and woe. With them terminated that system of militaristic bondage and caste which had been reared outside of constitutional guarantee and to uphold oppression. Few events in the life of mankind have ever marked such vast change from an old system to a new.

But when the peacemakers met at Versailles there remained as a part of that monarchical system which had caused so much suffering in the past the king of England, ruling vast multitudes and ter-

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ritories in Britain and Ireland, India and Africa, Australia and Canada; the king of Italy, controlling the Latin peninsula and a portion of Northern Africa; the emperor of Japan, dominating the Island Kingdom and Korea and recognized by us as having a preponderent influence in China and all Eastern Asia; the king of Belgium, restored to sovereignty by our arms and having power over the Congo; the queen of Holland, with her native land and that of Dutch Guiana and the rich and populous East Indies under her sway; the sultan of Turkey, still tormenting a small bit of Europe and a large portion of Asia Minor with his force; and the kings of Norway, Sweden, Spain, Greece, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Roumania, Servia, Persia, Afghanistan, Burma and Siam.

These sovereigns have been shorn by legislative checks of the authority once held by their ancestors, and it is no longer possible to force their will upon their subjects as law, but it is nevertheless true that they gain their prestige and commanding eminence only because born of certain persons who have preceded them in royalty. They do not come up out of the body of the people and represent them in any executive capacity. On the contrary, most of them not only misrepresent but are notorious for their incapacity. Their place in their respective governments is an extra constitutional function. They therefore form a useless appendage from the past. Their support is waste and extravagance. Millions of the money of the peoples they rule as puppets is exacted by taxation for

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this purpose. Soon the entire world will find them stupid nonentities, and the government of the United States should do nothing to uphold some of them while its arms and example drive others from power.

Nor does the evil rest alone in the person of the sovereign himself. His family is also maintained. As in the case of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, they enrich themselves at the expense of the state. William II was reputed to be one of the richest men in Europe. The royal family of England is wealthy. Leopold of Belgium amassed an immense fortune out of the nefarious rubber trade in the Congo, and this descended to his progeny. The Sultan of Turkey and the King of Greece made themselves rich out of business investments, as did the Romanoffs. Those kings who remain are surrounded by satellites of princes and princesses, lords and ladies, gentlemen of valor in bowing and adulation and women in waiting given to flattery. All of them belong to the gilded tinsel of the past. The coronation of the king of England brings forth to the Guildhall myriads of them, attired in knee breeches, scarlet and ermine robes, and crowns and coronets. They are a sham. Away with them!

The German Empire was the last of the strong autocracies, and the ruin of that was caused partly by the weakness inherent in monarchical power. It was a survival of the Roman system of minimizing the importance of the individual for the benefit of the entire state. As the Roman officials worked under the direct control of the emperor, so did

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they in Germany. As the Roman senate had no final authority, so the Bundesrat was selected by the states of the empire and was partially under the control of the Kaiser. The Reichstag, elected by the people, while having more authority than the ancient body, was in the same general sense subject to the will of the sovereign. As in Rome the throne was upheld by the army, especially the Pretorian guard, and the monarch therefore sought to propitiate the cohorts by dotations and other favors, so in the German Empire the emperor, realizing that his chief dependence was upon the army and navy, pampered them. As consuls, prætors, ædiles, tribunes and questors were subordinated to the higher central authority of the princeps, so all the administrative system of Germany before the war was subordinated to the will of the emperor. In both cases a bureaucracy existed for all practical purposes. The "Pandects" of Justinian have this to say: "The pleasure of the emperor has the vigor and effect of law, since the Roman people by the royal law have transferred to their prince the full extent of their own power and sovereignty." As Gibbon remarks, "The will of a single man, or a child perhaps, was able to prevail over the wisdom of ages and the inclination of millions."

This centralization of authority for a time was highly beneficial to the Roman people. Harbors, roads and bridges were built, waste lands were reclaimed, commerce was regulated and encouraged, loans were advanced to the farmers at small interest upon the security of their land, and the

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finances of the empire were supervised by trained experts. And so it was in Germany, where the imperial government conducted internal improvements in the building of harbors, canals, military roads and post and telegraph communication. Public sanitation and other rules for the furtherance of health, order and obedience were enforced with stern strictness. The Roman Empire reared great soldiers and statesmen to be its head. The age of the good Antonine emperors was among the happiest in the history of the world. But when absolute authority was placed in such successors as Commodus, Pertinax, Caracalla and Alexander Severus the people were given hideous examples of injustice and infamy. And so Frederick the Great will ever be among the inspiring spirits of all time. One has but to peruse Catt's "Memoires" to determine the heroic mould of the monarch who was the first in Europe to declare that the king should be the first servant of the state. But the ambition of William II for world dominion caused him to bare the mailed fist and attempt to stifle genuine liberty. Without the military genius, constructive statecraft or personality of Napoleon, he sought to appropriate to himself something of the atmosphere of divinity. Like Lucifer he fell and with him crashed to fragments the temporary edifice his monarchial hope had reared.

Thus it will be seen that the causes of the precipitation of the disaster to Germany were inherent in the principle of monarchy itself. The will of the emperor, supreme as war lord and ambitious for

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renown, helped to bring on the conflict. From Babylon and Nineveh to Rome and thence to the old empire ruled over by Hauenstufen, Swabian, Franconian and Saxon, to the Spanish Charles V, the Hapsburgs and then the Hohenzollerns the monarchical traditions of the Empire were clear. There were other great potentates who ruled in regal splendor, but they did not fill so large a page in the history of civilization. Yet all of them, without exception, fought for glory and aggrandizement. Some precipitated conflict and misery over a fancied affront. Others there were who trampled human beings too far with resultant rebellion. For a thousand years the Pope was the instigator of wars to extend his power. The Crusades, the fights against the Turks, the attempts to recover the territory of the Greek Church, and the Thirty Years' War are examples. Unbridled ambition, seeking to add more revenue, subjects and world influence, has been a prolific cause of sorrow.

At the other extreme is the United States. Its traditions have been handed down from the republics of Greece and Rome, the free states and cities of the Middle Ages, the Dutch Republic, Switzerland and six hundred years of constitutional development in England from Magna Charter to the Declaration of Independence. Guizot has said that the form of government in which the greatest self control of the people is demanded is a federal republic. In the less than a century and a half of national existence we have subdued a savage race and a wilderness, abolished slavery, wrought a

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homogeneous people out of a heterogenous mass of inhabitants, and repressed all to peace, order and happiness. The fears of De Toqueville have been followed by the optimism of Bryce. Great soldiers and statesmen have been reared by the multitude to perform its tasks. Some of them have wrought for all mankind. But when their work was done they were either relegated to dignified retirement or had their will modified by that of all the people.

Humanity has received its greatest benefit in government from limitation of power and representation of the governed by their consent in all authority. History is a long story of abuses of power and struggles to escape from them. When monarchy did not provide such abuses, a tyranny was established by a something crudely termed a democracy. But the effect was the same. Democracy in Greece, in the French Revolution and Bolshevik Russia set up personal abusers of the unchecked temporary power with which they were clothed. But republicanism, wherein there has been coordination in authority, where full representation has been established, where the federal principle has remained intact, and in which the head of the government has been elected for a stated term of office, has given the fullest expression of life, broken every shackle in the way of betterment, and given promise of a constantly increasing degree of happiness, contentment and accomplishment in the future. This system has been found to be best for all men and women everywhere and must ultimately prevail in every land and clime.

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How important a blow was given to the principle of monarchy by the United States in the recent European conflict and how similar this was to the fight against tyranny in other times is revealed by Sismondi in his description of the struggles of the free Italian cities of the Middle Ages against Frederick Barbarossa:

“Twenty years before Frederick had devastated, in his pride, the very country which he was now stealthily traversing, a fearful fugitive. He had believed that as the ruler of the Roman Empire he was, by divine right and appointment, the ruler of the kingdoms of this world. He had claimed the prerogative of his position, and the learned professors of the newly revived study of civil law had supported him in his claim; the cities had rebelled and he had considered it his bounden duty to suppress a dangerous spirit of defiance to his just authority, as well as the wanton insolences of the towns to himself and to one another.

“For this the Lombard malcontents had been traitors to God, even, Who had appointed the empire to which he had, therefore, affixed the title of ‘Holy.’ To repress anarchy and to establish just authority he had employed all of the resources of his realm; seven times had he summoned the armies of the north against the Alpine barrier, and seven times had they melted away like the snows they traversed; half a million men in all had gleefully leaped to his arms at his summons, and now he stood at his ancient capital of Lombardy, defeated, surrounded by his foes and almost alone. He, the

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representative of all the Cæsars, holding his authority from the German conquerors of Italy, had been vanquished by a handful of trading towns of a country which had no voice in the election of its own Emperor. The high priests of his creed had called down on him the thunders of heaven and their appeal had been answered. The conquest of Italy would mean the disruption of Germany, even were that conquest now possible. With all sincerity and simplicity, traits in a bold and honest character, Barbarossa sought for peace, since the will of God had declared against him."

And in the great contest of freedom against monarchical Germany the world has been reminded of that more fictional incident in the "Les Miserables" of Victor Hugo when Marius in the ABC club lauds Napoleon:

"What a splendid destiny for a nation to be the empire of such an emperor! To appear and to reign, to march and to triumph, to have for halting places all capitals, to decree the fall of dynasties, to make you feel that when you threaten you lay your hand on the hilt of the sword of God!"

"And what is greater?" he exclaims, as though there could be no answer.

Then Camberferre quells him with a word. "To be free," he replies.

After Napoleon had been sent to St. Helena, a martyr to his ambition, the Congress of Vienna, composed of representatives of the potentates of Europe, established, under the direction of Metternich, a grand scheme for maintaining the status

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quo as it then was. The Holy Alliance was formed and given its name by the idealism of Alexander I of Russia. This was to keep the peace and protect monarchs. It seemed certain of success because of the power of united armies to save it. As the result of his fear of aggression by any one of these protected kings, President James Monroe proclaimed the doctrine which bears his name. But after Europe had recovered slightly from the Napoleonic wars there was an uprising in France in 1830, and then in 1848 came revolutions toward liberty and constitutionalism throughout much of the continent. Monarchy remained in the ascendant, however, and it was only the overthrow of Napoleon III at Sedan that made possible a republican France. Meanwhile the monarchial aggressions of the members of the Holy Alliance went on as before, and it was but a short time after the Congress of Vienna that rivalry between them reasserted itself as the result of dynastic and national ambition.

The Congress of Versailles, called to make peace with Germany, reorganize the map of Europe in the interests of the allied powers, and formulate some sort of vague generalization concerning joint action under the terms of a league of nations, also succeeded, with the aid of the United States, in maintaining a status quo whereby the kings of England, Italy, Belgium and Greece were kept in being and the emperor of Japan continued in autocratic dominion. This was not the object or work of the peace conference, but was the result of the

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nations composing it acting together in unison and attaining victory in the war and their giving expression to a desire for international amity afterwards. To a world longing for peace and good will among men after more than four of the most war-ridden years in history there may be a hope that the pact thus made will endure. But in so far as it interferes with the competitive struggle of existence and maintains monarchy or empire anywhere it cannot last. The law of blood is the law of nature and the law of nature is stronger than the desire of any statesman or idealist.

Monarchy and empire imply subjection. There can be no liberty within their authority. The kingly office cannot exist without subjects, and so long as there are subjects there must be a limitation of freedom. To hedge the office about with traditional sanctity and surround it with the flunk-eyes of the realm does not make it less odious and ridiculous to the peoples of republican lands. The terms democracy and republicanism and kingdoms and monarchy are forever separate and distinct. By winning the war against Germany our institutions were temporarily made safe, but republican institutions anywhere can never be made permanently safe until all monarchical institutions everywhere have been abolished. In the chaos of society following disruption and disaster some of the peoples may stumble through madness for a time, but under representative institutions they will best secure lasting recuperation and peace and order. In a decade China, Siberia and Eastern Europe

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have passed through this stage and are emerging into a better day.

Likewise does empire mean an infringement of the principle of nationality. So long as any power still extends its dominion over races other than its own it stands in the way of the fullest development and expression. India and Ireland cry out of the centuries for the right, inalienable in every people, to govern themselves in their own way as free republics. They are held to the British Empire by the power of steel and iron. If the people of each of them could vote as to whether they desired to be free and independent there would be no doubt of the result. The people of Korea are held by force beneath the sway of Japan. Indeed it may be said with truth that no people has by its own consent ever been subjected to the absolute will of another. Witness the Poles, who have been divided and trampled by three empires and yet in nationality have survived them all. The Jews have for three thousand years maintained separate identity as one people, withstanding the persecutions of all that period. The Filipinos have never completely yielded to the United States their longing for national expression. In Armenia and Malaysia are peoples that long for free government.

It was not the French Revolution which inaugurated the tremendous movement toward republicanism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for that was a phantasmagoria of riot which overturned a degenerate despotism and made way for a new monarchical order; but the pioneers of the

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New World who set up in America a federal republic which was to stand the test of time. It was not until 1871 that France permanently discarded the habilaments of empire, and thereafter for fifty years it constituted the only strong government of the people in Europe. On the other hand, the United States gave inspiration to the revolt of all of Spanish North and South America in 1821, and gradually extended its influence until in the early years of the present century it taught much of Asia how to be free and fought that Europe might become republican.

At the confusion of such a mighty upheaval as the European War it was anticipated that the imagination of other peoples would become kindled by the example of the strength and spirit of America, that more would in time rebel from sovereigns, and that additional representative states would be set up. Never before the free men, in a few months, transformed from untrained citizens into the best of soldiers, turned the scale of battle and swept the Germans out of France and Belgium, had the United States so fired the thoughts of men everywhere with the efficacy of its institutions and united efforts and with the hope for mankind embraced in its system of government and ideals.

At the same time the American people became more confident than in the past of their potential possibilities for tremendous achievement and more cognizant of their world mission to make all men free. From their isolation in thought and the bumptiousness of their pride, they became imbued

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with world-wide vision, interested in the boundaries of distant lands, mindful of social, economic and political conditions which demanded remedy in other continents, participants in the most momentous European reorganization since Waterloo, and sharers in the peace their representatives helped to make. And so now they should prepare to preach their gospel of federal republicanism to all nations, to rear fleets and armies and statesmen in order that they may be protected while doing this, and, if need be, fight in the future for the utter abolition of monarchy in whatever form and the complete destruction of empire anywhere.

Then, and not until then, can the American people give their final word to a humanity wearied by conflict. Not until then should they consent to universal and permanent peace. Not until then should they cease the efforts and sacrifice their unrivalled energies make possible. Not until then should they say to exhausted men, careworn women and tear-stained children: Let there be no war. Thus far and no farther shall the ambitions for aggrandizement of nations and peoples go. Let us make every human being on the globe free from servility and woe. Let us do away with privilege and tyranny, whether in the name of religion or the state. Let us give to man those blessings which were promised by the Almighty through the prophets of Israel in ancient days. Let us melt down the states of the earth and make them one great

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republic. Let us place all religions in the crucible of reasoning and experience, so that there may emanate from them a common humanity and a common God.

CHAPTER III

WAR AND PEACE

"Wars, therefore, are to be undertaken for this end, that we may live in peace without being injured."—Cicero.

"Terrible as war is, it yet displays the spiritual grandeur of man daring to defy his mightiest hereditary foe."—Heine.

"America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to control the mastery of the world."—Woodrow Wilson.

IN 1787 Aurelio Bertola, monk and historical philosopher, made the prediction that the European political system had arrived at a perfect and permanent equilibrium and that thereafter no further wars would occur. Yet during the following quarter century the Continent was bathed in blood. In the early part of 1914 Andrew Carnegie, philanthropist; Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University; Theodore E. Burton, president of the American Peace Society; William Jennings Bryan, advocate of pacifying nations with arbitration treaties, and Richard Bartholdt, president of the American branch of the Inter Parliamentary Union, were accounted leaders in the United States of a movement to prevent future wars. Their efforts were in vain. The mightiest

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of conflicts, perhaps the precursor of another twenty-five years of upheaval, began in July of that year. Later, there were some like Henry Ford who with greater zeal than judgment were all the more anxious to "cry peace, peace, when there is no peace." Others were disposed to imitate Burton, who, with the wisdom of a statesman, withdrew from the Peace Society and became an ardent advocate of military preparedness.

How wide is the gulf between the dreams of those who idealized peace and the practical facts of life may be gathered from the remark of Frederick the Great that in looking over the pages of history he had found not a decade in which there had not been a great war. The gulf becomes wider when we consider whether those wars have harmed or benefited mankind. It becomes an impossible barrier when reflection is had upon the question of whether the world is even now ready for permanent peace. For, as Saint Augustine said, war is the transition from a lower to a higher state of civilization. Reactionary and mediæval as this conclusion may seem in view of the suffering upon the battlefields of our day, the facts of the centuries completely vindicate it. Peace pleaders are not new. For three thousand years there has been upon the distant hill the beacon of warless brotherhood. The prophets of Israel saw it. Jesus of Nazareth said in one breath that every one should turn one cheek to his neighbor when smitten on the other, and in the next that he came with a sword. Christendom in the two milleniums since has followed his example, ideal-

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izing peace and turning from it when confronted by disconcerting reality.

The disparity between the great seers of Israel and the leaders of the now historic peace movement in the United States lies in the fact that the former perceived universal amity as the ideal of a far distant time, to be attained after countless wars, and the latter saw it in the immediate present, to be brought about by the holding of congresses. By Isaiah the Almighty says: "I have created the waster to destroy." And through Jeremiah: "Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed be he that withholdeth his sword from blood." It is only in the Gospels that the ear of the centurian is healed in a twinkling when Peter cuts it off. American advocates of peace at any price and their opposition to the mighty task to which the government has since dedicated itself were like those of whom Jeremiah speaks:

"Then said I, Ah, Lord Eternal! behold the prophets say unto them, Ye shall not see the sword, neither shall ye have famine; but a permanent peace will I give in this place. Then said the Lord unto me, Falsehood do the prophets prophesy in my name; I have not sent them, neither have I commanded them, neither have I spoken unto them; a vision of falsehood and idolatrous folly, and the deceit of their hearts do they prophesy unto you. Therefore hath said the Lord concerning the prophets that prophesy in my name when I have not sent them, while they say, sword and famine

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shall not come in this land; by the sword and by the famine shall these prophets come to their end."

And in Ezekiel: "Therefore, thus hath said the Lord Eternal, Whereas ye have spoken falsehood, and have seen lies; therefore I am against you, saith the Lord Eternal. And my hand shall be against the prophets that see falsehood, and that divine lies; in the secret council of my people shall they not be, and in the register of the house of Israël shall they not be written, and unto the land of Israël shall they not come; and ye shall know that I am the Lord Eternal. *Even because they have seduced my people, saying, 'Peace' when there was no peace.*"

Are these latter day peace makers to be laughed to scorn, then, because their dreams failed to come true? On the contrary, they are to be appreciated as helping to keep mankind awake to the great time for which the ages have waited. Andrew Carnegie, busily working to bring about the brotherhood of man, will not have lived in vain if he shall have enabled men to perceive the light more clearly. Nor will Eliot, Bartholdt and Ford. But it may be that in their zeal for peace in their later years they have overlooked the fact that when younger they overcame their rivals and attained their ends by individual war alone, one as head of a university, another as a member of the House of Representatives for two decades, and the last as the leading automobile manufacturer in America. Bryan ruled the Democratic party for twelve wears with an iron hand, brooking no opposition, making his will su-

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preme. He never won a battle over party opponents with a pact of peace. The older of these men, having attained their utmost, were content to stand by and urge a milder dispensation. If they had been so inclined toward peace in the earlier part of their lives, they would not have become so prominent.

So it is with every nation. When youthful and vigorous it of necessity exerts itself and accomplishes its ends by conquest. When its time for such exertion has passed it is content to remain passive. It is true in nature, from the lowest protoplasm to the highest organism, that when opposing interests clash they fight. By this means the strong and healthy organism overcomes the weak and the fittest survives. Nothing gained by struggle is lost. A man fights for his living, gains it, is thereby enabled to marry and give children to the world, and at the same period of existence contends for whatever he may undertake in mind or material. Then he enjoys what he has earned and gradually passes to decline. An old man of ninety may produce intellectual results, but that which comes from strenuous effort of nerve or muscle has passed from him forever. And so all that mankind has accomplished has been the result of struggle. Added together, it expresses modern civilization. The outbreak of the great war indicated that the process had not stopped. As man can attain nothing except by contention, so states can give nothing to humanity except by war. By battle they defend themselves until they have expressed their civilization. By war they extend it over the territories they conquer. The art and

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philosophy of Greece and the law of Rome are at the disposal of a world today only because the Greeks and Romans did not hesitate at bloody strife when the occasion required.

War stimulates the highest and noblest impulses of man. It is primal to be aggressive, to struggle, to advance. The female admires the male who can protect her and her offspring. The individual who will not fight for his mate when she is attacked or for his brood is not manly, but effeminate. The citizen who attempts to evade his duty to fight for his native land when it is assailed is no patriot, but a shirker. They who praise peace for its own sake indulge in cheap cant and extol weakness in the name of humanity. Those who declared a few years ago that the time of battle was not at hand for this country in the near future were without sufficient energy to be the leaders of a young and vigorous nation in the hour of its peril.

The highest virtue is sacrifice. The utmost sacrifice a man can make is to lay down his life for his family or his country; and it is not in vain if thereby the race is for all time made happier. The womanly woman who has a manly son desires that he fulfil the highest and most normal instincts of the genus homo, and that he always be prepared to fight for the right; that he protect the weak and the hungry, and that he aggressively devote his life when a soldier to a worthy purpose. Both men and women of this land have come to reject the council of those who think they can stop human nature from asserting itself against continued wrongs, and

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by their mere assertion compel the clock of civilization to stand still.

Peace is stagnation. War is life. Its victories mean progress, and the most important victories in all wars have come to the United States. The conquerors have made history. Every war has left humanity better than it found it. The American colonies fought in 1775 against the tyranny of a British king and for liberty. The constitution of the greatest republic is the result. Those engaged fought for seven years. Did they die for naught? It was war and the defeat of Napoleon on the sea that led to the Louisiana purchase, extending up the Mississippi and to the Rockies. The French Emperor practically gave this third of the present territory of the country in order that he might raise up a future antagonist of the British Empire. He did not foresee that the English speaking peoples would unite in a greater war in an endeavor to protect the soil of the France that had helped America gain its freedom in the Revolution.

It was the war with Mexico that led to the annexation of Texas, New Mexico and all the Pacific slope, another third of the nation. Can it be doubted, in view of the barbaric conditions that have during the past decade prevailed in Mexico, that the land won by the spirit of the Alamo, with its teeming population, is enjoying more blessings under the ægis of American institutions than would have been the case had the territory remained in Mexican hands? In 1860 this nation was confronted by the alternatives of slavery or freedom, disunion

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or union. Four years of war decided the issues involved. A million men lost their lives. Did those on *either* side die in vain if they thereby advanced the cause of freedom? In 1898 Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines were released from the cruelties of Spain by the victories of Manila Bay, Santiago and San Juan. Have not the peoples of those islands and indirectly all mankind thereby been benefited through more orderly and enlightened institutions? In 1918 America did away with autocratic dominion in Central Europe. Is not the world better fitted thereby for more liberty and enlightenment?

The work of Hamilton in the framing of the constitution would have been impossible without the sword of George Washington. So impregnated for a time were the American people with the ideas of those who upheld peace as a thing to be beloved in itself that in their adulation of Abraham Lincoln—all of it deserved—they almost ceased to remind themselves of that hero of the nation, General Grant, who preserved the Union. It was Grant and not Lincoln who made peace with Lee at Appomattox after the entirely righteous ends for which he and his soldiers had fought were accomplished. The constitutional amendments admitting the black man to equal rights under the law were written by the sword. And so the present new spirit in our land has been augmented by Pershing and his men.

An individual passes through a tremendous crisis in his life and is made to think more rapidly and

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seriously and to produce more. That is why out of struggle come the greatest achievements of men. Musicians and artists working in a garret in poverty but losing nothing of the spark within, Demosthenes wandering along the sea shore with pebbles in his mouth so he could overcome impediment of speech, Luther begging for bread by singing in the streets, Benjamin Franklin starting as a printer's devil and Lincoln splitting rails and reading Blackstone by candle light stand out as examples from myriads of others of the same sort. In the grueling crisis of war a man faces adverse conditions and even death with all his manhood. After it is over he thinks in vaster terms.

Those who commanded in the Civil War were leaders afterwards when peace came. The characters of iron that they had attained in battle enabled them to cope with opponents in the intense rivalry of industry and the professions. Out of that war came, not only Grant, but Sheridan, Meade, Faragut, Porter, Garfield, Carl Schurtz, Sickles, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, James J. Hill, Andrew Carnegie and most of the leaders of the House and Senate for more than a generation. And out of it, too, came Robert E. Lee, John B. Gordon, Beauregard, Joe Wheeler, John T. Morgan, Stephen Mallory, John B. Regan, Isham G. Harris, Bennett Young, Charles F. Crisp, George Vest, John W. Daniel, L. Q. C. Lamar and Edward D. White, chief justice of the United States. Other wars have not stilled the rebel yells of the heroes of the Southland, plunging up the steep hill under

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Pickett and attacking the batteries at Gettysburg. Did they who gave their lives there die in vain? Not if the South today profits by their nobler manhood. And the victors, fighting through the fire and smoke of the peach orchard and "little round top," saved the Union.

Horrible slaughter, wasn't it? The rivers ran with blood. But there were no mollicoddles to bleat in those dark days except the Northern "Copperheads." Men took their medicine and took it grandly. Mothers gave their sons and were proud of it. They as well as the sons were exalted by the sacrifice. And Lincoln wrote to the mother of five such who had perished on the field of battle that he could add no word of praise to those who had given all upon the altar of freedom. There were maimed and halt, but the absent limb or arm was more revered, by a nation rebuilt and glad to express its gratitude on every occasion, than the whole carcasses of those who had crawled under the bed upstairs when the recruiting officer appeared. The South has cherished the memory of its heroes with a sentiment and loyalty hardly less fervent than in the strife itself. In an earlier day the wars of 1845-6 with Mexico helped inspire the pioneers of '49 who sought gold in the land conquered during that conflict. And at a later time the Spanish war was followed by a decade of wonderful industrial achievement in America. Our fighting at Chateau-Thierry and the Marne has inspired the nation. When Ulysses had ended his struggles came Penelope and Hercules. And so the United States has

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advanced by terrible hardships in which its fitness alone enabled it to survive, through constant bloody contest and din of battle, and always to higher things.

Few instances should be required to prove that the advantages of armed conflict are not confined to our own country. It was war by the barons at Runnymede that compelled King John to grant the priceless privileges contained in Magna Charter, led Charles I to the block and established the protectorate of Cromwell, overthrew Bourbon despotism in the French Revolution, caused the beneficent work of Napoleon and then ended his subversion of nationality. It was grim death under powder and shot that removed forever the horrors of the thumb-screw and the rack and enabled men to seek truth without risk of torture by either Protestant or Catholic. This during two centuries of almost incessant conflict in the Wars of Religion, the Thirty Years' War, the fight to free the Netherlands, and, in a lesser degree, in the wars of Louis XIV and Frederick II and the battles of Napoleon in Italy.

Wars through the Middle Ages destroyed the weak and led to the rule of the more vigorous. Charlemagne, fighting for law and order, made men better. During the great migrations of peoples after the fall of the Roman Empire conflicts gave new life to Europe. Atilla, "the scourge of God," assisted in this process and at the same time exhausted his own Huns. Jenghis Kahn, Timur and many others did the same for Asia, sweeping away

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the wastes of life, reinvigorating the entire continent and carrying the world onward to better things. The crusading knights transmitted ideas and spread ideals of courage and bravery. Wars protected Europe from the Saracens, lifted Asia out of inhumanity and stopped the savagery the colonizing nations found. The Spaniards were unspeakably harsh in Mexico and Peru, but they did away with a system wherein the hearts of men were cut out while they stood alive in front of the sacrificial stone.

All fundamental law has been made possible by the conquerors alone. The Code Napoleon was compiled after the subjugator of Italy had done his work. After 1866 and 1871 came a new system of administration in Germany. The bases of the British constitution were laid by war. The "Pandects" of Justinian were made possible by the arms of Belisarius and Narses. In so far as these were but codifications of previous law, the latter had in turn been prepared by the wars of Cæsar and his successors. The capitularies of Charlemagne followed his career in the field.

What potent deeds for humanity are represented by the names of Washington, Grant, Dewey, Pershing, Garibaldi, Wellington, Blucher, Napoleon, Frederick the Great, William of Orange, Turenne, Suleiman, Charles of Lorraine, John Sobieski, Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, Peter the Great, Gustavus Adolphus, Oliver Cromwell, Nelson, Don Juan, Tromp, Timur, Jhingis and Kublai Kahn, Howard, William the Conqueror, Frederick Bar-

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barossa, Marshal Saxe, Marlborough, Clive, Cortez, Pizarro, Louis XI, Alphonso of Castile, Casimir IV, Canute, Hugh the Great, Otto the Great, Charlemagne, Charles Martel, Alfred, Mahomet, Harun, Mansur, Heracleus, Attila, Theodoric, Constantine, Aurelian, Septimus Severus, Trajan, Tiberius, Marcus Aurelius, Cæsar, Marius, Chedolaomar, Apgar, Nurachu, Mithradates I, Saleucus Nicator, Hasdrubal, Hannibal, Pyrrhus, Alexander, Miltiades, Sargon, Sheshonk, Rameses, Thutmosis III, Joshua and David!

They cleared the way for or were themselves the builders of civilization. A mighty host, they ask where mankind would have been without them and—more to the point—where the race would not be if it had been guided by the timid souls who did not grandly dare but were content to let the world remain as it was in the name of peace. It is interesting to speculate as to what would have been the result to all that the life of Athens meant if one of these latter had been the choice of the polemarch instead of Miltiades at Marathon.

By battle, too, ideas have been promulgated. Mahomet warred and today 250,000,000 people accept his teachings. Christian princes fought, carrying in one hand the gospel of peace and good will toward men and in the other the sword, and half a billion of men now pronounce the name of Jesus as the Savior of the World. Wars have helped to add another 420,000,000 to the folds of Buddhism and Hindooism. Confucianism, established as the religion of the state and upheld by force, has

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340,000,000 adherents. Men have gained their ideas first by the inspired spirits, then by battle and last by habit. Opposing principles have been decided by gun powder. Ambitious kings have united peoples to crush opponents and carry on the work of progress. New peoples, new hopes, new ideas, new leaders have overcome older and weaker ones. And so it has been through the ages. Wars, wars, wars! Advancement, advancement, advancement!

But what of the maimed and the halt? What of the widows and orphans? What of the desolate homes and heart-rending sorrow? What of the awful agonies of the battlefield, with comrade disemboweled or his head blown off, with the shrapnel laying many low, the groans and shrieks of the sorely wounded and dying, the horse torn asunder with none to help? What of the hand to hand clashes, man braining his brother man with the butt of his rifle and wildly stabbing him to death with the bayonet? True, but what of the benefits all this may bring to men in general? Neither an individual nor a nation develops to the utmost without striving. The easy way is not that to achievement. "I have refined thee in the fire of adversity." But it is such a price to pay, it is urged. For what? For the more progressive and awakened society war brings in its wake. Men are brought back to the fundamental things of life. Before the great cataclysm the intellect of France had descended to "Cubism" and "Futurism." It was time for the quickening hand.

Gunpowder clears the air. Men see God again.

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And they perceive that the untold suffering is not too high a price to pay that an old civilization may crumble and give way to a new one which will delight all future generations. Each age of the world is better than the last and is made so by the willingness of men to go through just such harrowing experience in order that those things they hold most dear may not be taken away from them. The "noble six hundred" who charged at Balaklava made the blood of men tingle for more than half a century because they had no fear of "shot and shell."

That war does not waste the physical energies of an otherwise healthy state and that, on the contrary, it helps to stimulate them, may be gathered from an examination of the birth rate in Germany after the war of 1870-1871. In that conflict 28,000 men in the German armies were killed in action, about 3 per cent. of the 835,000 men placed in the field, and 101,000 were wounded and disabled. In the ten years after the war 8,728,946 male children were born and 8,287,591 females, a preponderance of males over females of 441,355, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. After 1865 in the United States the lack of statistics between that year and the census year of 1870, together with the greatly increased immigration after the conflict, makes it difficult to obtain exact figures, but in the decade from 1870 to 1880, subtracting the children born to foreign born parents, the preponderance of male children reported is about the same as in Germany.

It seems to be a law of nature that in a virile

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state twenty-one males are born to every twenty females. In France, where a more unhealthy condition has been noted for some time because of a stationary population, during the war with Prussia 156,000 men were killed and 146,000 were wounded and disabled out of a total of 970,000 engaged. In the decade following 2,627,809 males were born and 2,728,737 females, a preponderance of *females* of 100,928, or 3.03 per cent.

In the greatest of wars the United States lost in killed about one and a half per cent. of those engaged. The British list of killed totalled about nine per cent. The Italians lost in battle about four per cent., the Austrians eight per cent., the Germans sixteen per cent., and the Russians about five per cent. The losses of all the countries participating in the war amounted to something less than ten per cent—a comparatively small sacrifice to pay for a free Europe and a rejuvenated and revived world.

Socialists declare that all wars are brought about by what they term “capitalism.” The normal ambitions of men, their hatred of wrong and their willingness to lay down their lives for justice and right, are erased from the equation. The great controversy over the right to secede from the Union, which went on for twenty years with increasing acrimony with Webster, Seward and Sumner on one side and Calhoun, Hayne and Davis on the other, according to this view, was not a contributing cause of the war between the states. The fervor of righteous indignation against slavery

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that swept through the North, fanned by "Uncle Tom's Cabin," John Brown's raid and the firing upon Fort Sumter, had nothing to do with the outbreak of the struggle. It was "capitalism." When the people of a reunited America were roused to fever heat by the cruelties practiced by Weyler and the blowing up of the Maine in Havana Harbor and went to war and crumpled the power of Spain in order to enable Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines to enjoy the benefits of free institutions, it was really "capitalism" that did it all. It was the same with those who desired liberty more than life in the war of American independence. And to the last war Socialists in this country expressed bitter opposition on the same ground.

According to this reasoning every conqueror in history who had ambitions must have been a "capitalist." William the Silent, fighting Spain for free thought in the Netherlands, was no doubt one also. Gustavus Adolphus and his Swedes at Lutzen were "capitalists." The Swiss defeating Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, at Grandson with love of independence in their hearts had never heard the term used by Karl Marx, but if they had they probably would have realized that that was what they had laid down their lives for. The Crusaders who sallied forth from Europe with the ideal of regaining the true cross were really desirous of "exploiting" somebody. Alexander, animated by love of glory and the laudable desire to extend the boundaries and civilization of Hellas, if Socialists may be believed, was a "capitalist." Henry of Navarre,

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fighting for years with reckless courage, gained a throne and established the Edict of Nantes, guaranteeing religious toleration. What did capital have to do with it? Robert Bruce, utterly discouraged, saw the spider fall and rise for the seventh time, took courage and won Scottish independence. Was he a "capitalist"?

Cæsar risked all, crossed the Rubicon and gained all. Hannibal surmounted the Alps and fought Rome for twenty years by maintaining himself and his soldiers in Northern Italy by sheer courage and genius. Frederick the Great took about with him a phial of poison. When defeated, worn, weary and tempted to take the dose, he, by his aggressive and mighty spirit, gathered together his resources and fell upon the enemy instead. Napoleon bridled the Revolution, which had taken so many lives simply because they had worn good clothes or been of noble birth or good repute, and then by his indomitable ambition conquered Europe. Which does the world prefer, the spirit that animated these heroes of the past or that of those who ascribe all their noble actions to what they term "capitalism"?

But the Socialist says all this was long ago and human nature as well as conditions have changed. This is the same error as is made by those who contend that armaments produce wars and that if the world did not have them there would be no armed conflicts. Human ambitions and hatreds and loves were created before gunpowder and armor and even bows and arrows. The implement was always invented to express the desire. When the savage

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wished to rule the tribe and felt he was strong enough, he slew with a blunt instrument his nearest rival and lorded it over the others. Then he led them against another tribe and, after defeating it and perhaps roasting its members in a kettle, occupied its ground. That was the beginning of wars.

The titanic struggle of our time was precipitated in 1914 by a shot heard around the world. The Austrians rushed to avenge the murder of their crown prince. The Russians hastened to the defense of their fellow Slavs in Servia. The Germans met this by fighting for German ambitions on land and sea. The French advanced to the aid of Russia. Britain fought to protect Belgium and, as Kitchener said, to "pay a debt of honor which we owe to France." The Japanese entered the war to fulfill the terms of their alliance with Britain. Italy joined the Entente because of ambition to gain territory from Austria. Belgium and Servia entered the war to protect themselves, Bulgaria and Turkey to gain land as a reward for helping the Central Powers, and Roumania by assisting the Allies. The United States entered it to protect its rights under international law on the seas and to advance the cause of democracy. Portugal took part because of long friendship for Great Britain, and Brazil for her motherland. China did so because of the democratic movement.

Outside of certain fundamental antipathies, these were the causes of the war. What did "capitalism" or armaments have to do with the cataclysm, especially when 1,700,000 men, including Socialists,

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volunteered in Germany alone? If there had been no huge armaments the ambitions of the individuals and nations, their mutual jealousies and hatreds, would still be present. Without such armaments it is possible that the conflict would have brought prolonged chaos and anarchy and outlasted our generation.

Nations have their hopes, passions, obsessions, discontents, ideals, hates and ambitions, just as individuals do. Every nation is normal in this respect. Some of its citizens may be abnormal in their vows not to do the normal thing to save the state should disaster appear, but the healthy organism throws off this effect as a disease. These vows are usually only mental and pass away in the hour of excitement when the nation is attacked by a jealous rival and rapacious power, or when the nation acts as a unit to protect its rights. When the call comes they usually grumble a bit but give evidence that they are human beings and patriots; theory is forgotten. If, however, the vow not to risk life and limb and not to slay a fellow being for the sake of what the national government represents be congenital, it should be remembered that there are cowards in every land; and those of proper age who attempt to shirk their part should be detested as such.

On the other hand those who enter gladly in the work of fighting for liberty in the occasion of danger have many compensations in the training they receive. Strict military discipline in the open air, with constant exercise and contests of manly

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strength, make any young man much more fit than he would otherwise be for the remainder of his life. He is ever after more inured to hardship. Difficulties seem less to him. It is not upon the old men or the peace lovers but upon these youths of red blood and warm impulses that the future of the United States must primarily rest. Hence, universal military service has been urged in order that the million boys who reach the age of eighteen or nineteen each year may be called into cantonment and other local duty for a part of a year.

All those who entered such training would have their economic efficiency developed through the learning of system and method, self reliance and the comradry consistent with a democratic state. One has but to recall the rare enthusiasm for this extraordinary development of the physical man to grace and beauty, to liveness of limb and quickness of eye, in the Greek states, to realize what might be the outcome of the military service for this free republic. Born commanders would appear as a matter of course. And they would ultimately bring many more victories. Our army and our navy have the greatest of all gifts—liberty—to defend.

In preparation and in war itself economic ends are advanced rather than retarded. In the conflict fixed and not floating capital is destroyed, and for the victor not even that. The circulating medium changes hands, but remains the same, unless depreciated for the time being with resultant stimulation of prices. Man would consume food and wear

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clothes in any event. The energies of the nation are turned to the manufacture of the implements of war and ammunition and to supplying the armed forces with food and raiment. All these materials are perishable. To destroy them at one time is not greatly different from another. This is true also of buildings, public and private, and vast fields of ordinary production which are swept bare by the storm of war. Afterwards they regain their accustomed appearance, and better, by the new energy which is turned into them and their more modern design.

Instead of causing waste, war does away with it by subduing menacing peoples. These extend their credit and expend their strength. At the end they are shorn of territory and bankrupt. This leads to the rule of the better organism. The latter is assisted in paying back its borrowed capital with the domain it has conquered. With us the war having been fought on foreign soil, our fixed capital remains intact. Stimulated energies and vastly increased production in a few decades or generations remove the debt.

Not even life is wasted. Many contend that each of us has died many times, that each will live again. What matters it, then, if one's head is blown off; the spirit survives. If men pass away in agony, the pain is but momentary. If maimed for life, they have the satisfaction of knowing that they have helped humanity. And when the percentage of actual deaths is considered, it must be admitted that the chances of passing through the ordeal without

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either loss of life or serious injury are very great—something over 90 per cent. And those who return—the 90 per cent.—are stimulated to greater energy. The Christian with his fortitude and belief in immortality should not hesitate to take the chance. Certainly the Japanese, with his feeling that the hero of the battle is rewarded in the hereafter, does not stop at any daring deed. And so far as the comparatively small misery among troops is concerned, that is largely minimized by the development of medical science, sanitation and dieties during the past half century. The hardship caused among wives, mothers and children gradually adjusts itself in a generation. Their suffering may be cruel, but it would be far more heartless to an infinitely vaster number of men, women and children in the future not to risk life and limb for the liberties our nation and civilization stand for.

It has been proposed that all this might be done away with by men submitting that which they hold most dear to the arbitration of third parties. Where disputes of a minor nature arise between states and they can be readily adjusted in this way by submission of the facts, it would be ridiculous to think of war. But where the mighty aims of great peoples, led by those ambitious for glory and achievement, are involved, arbitrators are swept aside as mollicoddles. Think of a Richelieu stopping the work of the rejuvenation of France to listen to such sweet faced brethren! There was no compromise with him. He went ahead with his grim work and the opponents of law and order and

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civilization received the headman's axe. Louis XVI "arbitrated" his difficulties with the revolutionists and paid for it at the guillotine. Napoleon, peering over the fence on a July day, reflected on how much might have been accomplished with powder and shot. But Louis was not made of that kind of stuff. His "children" should not be fired on by the Swiss guards, he said. Arbitration treaties with people we shall never fight are nauseating. American freedom and the fundamental principles America stands for can never be arbitrated except by the sword.

Does this mean that a state of war is preferable to a state of peace? Certainly it is, if, again quoting St. Augustine, war is the transition from a lower to a higher civilization. Certainly it is, if by peace men, nations and the world remain stagnant. Certainly it is, if, through aggressive struggle, the highest aims of the earth are obtained, and if, through sorrow and suffering and sacrifice men gain in character and perceive more clearly the fundamental verities of life. Certainly it is, if by war men gain means of leisure to utilize their stimulated energies in the paths of peace, until they relapse into desuetude and another great war or series of wars produces a mighty upheaval. Certainly it is, if, as Jesus of Nazareth said, "the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence and men of violence take it by force."

Will wars never cease, then? Must men go through the ordeal of battle all through the coming time? No; only until that day when each people

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and nation has risen to its maximum of strength, accomplished its work in the world and fallen to decay, so that, by all nations uniting in the Federation of the World, righteousness and justice may at last prevail upon the earth so far as government can make them do so. As much as war and hardship and suffering are a stimulant to the race, so there comes a reward brought by them when they are no longer necessary because the energy expended in them finds other outlet in the building of one world state; but they will not pass away until humankind is one and won for the liberty of every people and each individual under forms of law. Under such a unified structure of society where the sovereignty of the single commonwealth is universal the benefits of transfusion will be so recognized and utilized that the earth will one day be composed of a single people, an admixture of all its predecessors. How vain would strife then be! And in a government of man wherein the rights of all are fully protected and each is given opportunity for the utmost development of his or her powers, so that all may find representation and expression, what need will there be of war?

Heroes will be none the less. Nature will by the crossing of all the elements demand the conquering of the earth, the sky and the water by the single organism thus produced. The process of final and complete amalgamation being simultaneous, and the world state upheld by the strongest and most unselfish element having liberty as its ideal, any other constituent part will be prevented from disturbing

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the others. For that time men have fought throughout the ages—steadily, step by step, approaching

“One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.”

CHAPTER IV

THE DAWNING OF ANOTHER ERA.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God manifests Himself in many ways."—Tennyson.

WHEN Gutenberg invented the printing press in 1464, Columbus discovered America in 1492, da Gama found a new route to India in 1498, Luther nailed the theses upon the door of Wittenberg in 1517, Magellan circumnavigated the globe in 1521, Copernicus completed his heliocentric theory of the universe in 1530, and Cortez and Pizarro in the meantime conquered the new world for Spain, there were probably few who realized the significance of a great movement created by those events which was to sweep on with ever widening aspects, adding more liberties, shedding further light and opening new avenues to endeavor and wealth for four hundred years. Hardly more than half a century had been necessary to begin the process of breaking away from old traditions, customs, habits of thought and policies of government. The ultimate result was freedom of conscience, the sovereignty of the people, and the development of nationality. Today, after many inventions, unlimited printed knowledge, the law of evolution, critical examina-

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tion of the sacred scriptures, opening of the Panama canal and the bloodiest war man has seen, changes far more portentous seem to be at hand.

In the past fifty years the relation of man to life has been considerably altered. In that short space of time he has done more to conquer the materials about him than in any previous period. The result is that he no longer thinks so much in the terms of the passions and prejudices of a given locality, but looks out upon a world transformed for his benefit. His customs have become less enslaving. His thought and action radiate from a wider compass. He is a new man, another personality, and hence he is conceiving a new time. The nature of the epoch he is creating may be discerned in the factors that have remade him. The man of fifty years ago, our grandfather, was not the same as he who works and lives in the heroic present. He was served by his neighbors. His food was gathered from farms near at hand. His clothes were homespun. His comings and goings were with a horse. Books and papers were rare. His amusements were simple. Laughter was often compounded out of tragedy. The sole social center was the church. Ignorance was rife. Intolerance held sway. There was little else to do except be born, till the soil, marry, have children, zealously participate in religious observance and die. The revolution that has been since wrought is far more a miracle than any in ancient days. Men and women, old and young, have been lifted completely out of their environment. The war has given the world a common interest.

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Development of railway and water transportation has enabled man to circle the globe in less time than was formerly required to cross the Atlantic ocean. This continent is now crossed in three and a half days, as compared to three months in 1870. A network of steam railways gives local accommodation to every part of the land and enables all to travel at a minimum of expense. In addition, trolley lines have penetrated wherever the density of population has made them feasible. Automobiles, bicycles and motorcycles have made jaunts pleasanter and more healthful, and advanced the people of both city and country beyond the strength of a beast. Anthracite coal, oil and electricity have largely done away with smoke on the heavier trains. The Pullman and similar accommodations have made long distance journeys more comfortable. On the sea the turbine engine, the steel propeller, the steamship, yacht and motorboat, to say nothing of superior and oftentimes palatial furnishings afloat, made it possible for travel there to be speedy and agreeable prior to 1914. Risks have been reduced to a negligible quantity for the 1,033,679,680 passengers carried on the railroads of the United States in 1915. Half that number were reported in 1900.

Means of written and verbal communication have been multiplied to such an extent that the farmer no longer feels himself apart from the thrill of civilization. The telephone has brought a continent beneath its sway and made possible an intricacy of business undreamed of a quarter of a century ago.

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It has made men nearer to each other everywhere, annihilated distance and caused calls for help, convenience or news to be heard instantaneously. A world is the debtor of Alexander Graham Bell. The telegraph, and cable have united nations, continents and hemispheres. The daily doings of the heart of Asia, up to a generation ago unknown in their most important aspects until years later, are now flashed around the earth in a few minutes. Communities are no longer excluded from the tide of life anywhere. The earth moves by ideas, and the individual sends them to the chief centers and, in the more concentrated districts in the United States and Europe, to every home. Postal facilities, aided by the automobile and the pneumatic tube, have increased at an enormous rate, with the result that no person need remain hidden if he does not desire to be. The remotest tiller of the soil is now nearer to New York, Chicago and San Francisco than the denizen of the village or small city fifty years ago. The rural free delivery has helped to accomplish this result without delay.

Such means of rapid intercourse have made the modern newspaper possible, aided by the multiple rotary press. For so little expense that the cost is not felt by the very poorest, each citizen keeps himself informed every morning as to the affairs not only of the locality in which he dwells, but of the entire globe. Business and the consequent enhancement of advertising support a machinery of news production which has made man a neighbor to humanity. Together with editorials and the Sunday

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magazine section of the more important dailies, the news is digested for every reader and he is instructed as to all vital matters. There are now 25,000 newspapers in the United States. In addition a vast number of periodicals of all kinds stimulate thought and keep everybody who desires to know informed on any subject, however technical. The leading dailies of the large cities have correspondents in every spot on earth from whence news is likely to emanate, serving it with such terse interest that the reader easily grasps the simple facts and draws his own conclusion therefrom.

Books, too, are now presented to the public with a cheapness and attractiveness that have brought the mind seeking knowledge through the printed page within easy access, not only to the immediate locality and time but to the storehouse of learning and fact of the ages. Intellectual output of all periods may be upon the shelf of the poorest at an expense which would have been impossible a quarter of a century ago. Encyclopaedic knowledge is placed within arm's length of the busiest man. Biography is written without panegyric and only to portray the facts of the subject. History, because of the impetus toward scholarship in the last century and those archeological discoveries which have laid bare the story of ancient empires, has been rewritten upon a scientific basis, with regard to confirmable reality and not to bear out an argument. Men are no longer compelled to accept mere statements of opinion as authoritative: they may seek the proofs and accept or deny the ideas presented.

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Books have not only spread the gospel of learning and informed the earth, but added to the happiness of the individual and made him a citizen of the world.

In the home, where a generation ago genuine comforts were the property of the few, all of those with a meager income may now feel a joy in life so far beyond that possible to the man who labored with his hands heretofore as to make it almost beyond belief that changes of such vast importance to human kind could have been attained in the short span of half a hundred years. Wherever sufficient population warrants, the candle and oil lamp have well nigh disappeared and gas and the electric light have taken their place. He who sits beneath the effulgent glow of the results of the inventive brain of an Edison, shedding a warmth about the hearth that it never received before, can hardly conceive of the barrenness of the old method. New and constantly developing processes have made possible the almost universal use of the carpet and rug, brass and iron bed, wall paper and upholstered furniture. Over them the magic wand of art has cast a spell, and today the domicile of the poorest, if a little taste be displayed, may appear a place that kings a century ago would have envied.

Plumbing conveniences unknown to any but this contemporary time have added immeasurably to comfort and health. The tile bath has made cleanliness a duty and generally prevalent. Towels, soap and various manufactured articles of the toilette have increased the joy of living. With a well

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stocked library in this home its owner finds life pleasanter. The pneumatic cleaner and the carpet sweeper have lessened the burdens of women in the household. Invention, as in the case of man, has lessened her toil and increased leisure for the enhancement of mentality and usefulness outside the domicile. This is mainly responsible for the increasing desire of women to partake in greater measure in social and public activities.

The style of architecture of the housing of the people has changed and made for community of interest. Modern plumbing, the steel girder and the transference of large tracts of forest through the saw mill by cheap transportation to the chief centers are responsible for the apartment building, where many hundreds may live as neighbors without knowing each other, and the great business structure, reaching a height up to fifty stories, where several thousands of persons daily have their headquarters and transact their affairs. Electricity has brought the present elevator and made it possible for man to climb higher than the maximum of six stories at the close of the Civil War. Cement, concrete and tile processes, with which engineering knowledge has kept pace, have not only intensified the attractiveness of the interior of all buildings, but have become so cheap relatively as to enable building operations to take on a grander scale. Purely by the inventive means of a single generation such undertakings as the Pennsylvania and New York Central stations and the Metropolitan,

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Singer, Whitehall and Equitable office buildings in New York City have been made possible.

Without the growth of desire for creature comforts and easy access to centers of mercantile activity the department store—the marvel of a quarter century—would have been impossible. Local and special shops for immediate and particular selection still have their place in the large cities, but the greater mart supplies readily the needs of a community, and very cheaply because of greater volume of purchases. Clothing has become more varied as the result of the wants of the individual being supplied from a more extended field of production and the cheapening of cost by diversified labor and machinery. Good and attractive material may now be worn more generally than ever before. To the farmer and dweller in the small towns the facilities of the mail order establishments have become such as to enable all to secure products the inhabitant of a large city could obtain at a high class department store, by having a selection presented to him through the printed advertising page in newspaper and periodical.

Medical research has been revolutionized in half a century, with the result that health has been immeasurably bettered and life prolonged. Chemical research has brought quick remedies for simple ailments within reach. Where manufacturers have abused public confidence in these, an enlightened opinion has enforced the enactment of strict prohibitive laws. The process by which light has emerged from the darkness of medical methods of

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a generation ago has been the constant application of analytical thought to cause and effect in accordance with the scientific spirit of the age. A doctor in Porto Rico experiments at the cost of his life and the truth he finds protects future millions of his fellow men from the ravages of yellow fever. Others experiment, stagnant waters are drained, mosquitoes disappear and with them malaria; the extent of the result being dependent upon the thoroughness of the method. By the same means typhoid and the bubonic plague have found their cause and remedy. A physician carrying a particle of radium in his pocket and his hand coming in contact with it, he finds eventually that it is an alleviant and perhaps an antidote for cancer. Bacteriologists and pathologists concentrate their attention upon the plague of tuberculosis, and hygiene and sanitation do the rest in lessening its ravages. The war has enhanced surgical knowledge. Diseases that reflect the darker and more crassly selfish side of mankind are brought to more thorough investigation, with the outcome that the world is awakening to the steady and terrible results of depravity, and the conclusion that cleanliness of life is the true remedy. The desire of humanity for the elimination of preventable maladies and to know the why and wherefore of things medical has caused those men of great wealth who desire the esteem of their fellows to endow institutions of learning and hospitals, as well as special means of research, which have helped to bring greater and more efficient changes for human good in the field of med-

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icine in the past generation than in all those preceding since Hippocrates and Galen first thought enough of the bodily woes of men to experiment in order to eliminate them. Every good physician trained in a school of facts, every discovery of means for the prevention or remedy of illness, every chemist with a method for making life cleaner and healthier has assisted in making the individual everywhere less obsessed by his own ills and his own environment, and given him more freedom to comprehend and take part in the world outside of his individual life and his locality.

Certainly not less important than any other change in the surroundings of man in the last half century has been that in the field of amusement. There the development of means of transportation, the asphalt pavement, cement sidewalk and incandescent light, has, in this country especially, made possible a variety and standard of attractions upon the stage that would have excited the awe and wonder of our grandfathers. A cheap and melodramatic character of production was that presented before the eyes and ears of the people of the small town and even the cities in 1870. Then came the vaudeville circuit and the stock company, which, with the perfection of instrumental music, gave much more life and hence wider inspiration to every small community. With the working out of the details of electrical appliance, Edison and others brought out the phonograph, which, carrying the divine harmony into every home affording it, enabled men, women and children to be lifted above

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the cares of everyday life. With mechanical properties of the theatre enriched by devices to give wider range to acting, the drama took on a more instructive tone and broke away from the classical as the ideal.

Then was created the moving picture—still in its infancy—to bring to the door of every person on the earth the story and action of every other individual, age, race and clime and to do it at an expense of a few pennies. Everybody, rich or poor, has followed this device like the Pied Piper of Hamelin and had his thoughts stimulated to a broader vision. The saloon, even before the prohibition law was enacted, and the corner grocery, as well as the dive and the music hall, had lost the influence they once had. The “movies” have ushered in a new age, and so quietly and steadily that it is difficult to estimate the full consequence. Their reaction upon the legitimate stage has been to maintain reasonable prices and stimulate better production.

Education has been so extended as to give assurance that it will in all countries in time become universal. The enthusiasm of Horace Mann for free and nonsectarian training has borne fruit beyond his dreams. The old individualistic and classical schooling under private and religious auspices has given way to the participation by children everywhere in preparation for the duties of common citizenship, and is now evolving into adaptation of the youth for economic efficiency as well. The highly developed normal college has come into being, the salaries of teachers have been increased

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to more fairly compensate them for so valuable a service to the community of the present and future, and taxpayers have given to the maintenance of the educational system more willingly than to any other agency of government. The common school has exceeded its function of imparting knowledge and has become an organizer of character, altruism and patriotism, and is to-day one of the chief instruments for the upbuilding of the spirit of a higher civilization.

Material avenues of enabling men and women to live a more interesting and intelligent life have had their inevitable effect upon laws and government. The vision of happier conditions has been the incentive for the eight-hour day, demanded by the worker in order that he may have a more equitable share in the joys of the new life about him. Public sanitation and regulations to protect the health of the toiler have been further results of material factors. As men have been enabled to break the shackles that bound them to an old order, they have had more leisure to reason regarding the affairs of their fellows and to arrive at a clearer comprehension of true equity between man and man. Transportation and the mails have also been brought into play to make possible gatherings for the discussion of every subject, which the press has reported broadcast.

Legislation for the child, the amelioration of the condition of women and a more strict accountability of those in authority, whether industrial or political, has been enacted. Mercy and kindness have shed their light in greater measure in the daily life

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of the community, removing imprisonment for debt, rescuing the heavily laden debtor through bankruptcy so that he may have new opportunity, lessening the rigors of punishment of those who have offended against law, giving free legal aid to the poor to obtain redress for their wrongs, abating the strictures against divorce in order that mis-mated couples may benefit themselves and the world by parting, and providing such advantages as public play grounds and musical and other entertainment. Government has changed in a generation toward more and more utilization of community energy for the good of the locality or nation as a whole, and even the conservation of resources for the enjoyment of future generations.

Sociological education and the tendency toward social service have further concentrated attention upon the needs of humanity, with resultant thorough and sometimes too methodical agencies for assisting the poor. In fact, what is known as settlement work is entirely the creation of a generation. The sympathy of mankind for the war sufferers has been organized through the Red Cross and other kindred agencies. And as schools, books, newspapers and magazines have informed and instructed school boys as statesmen were not informed and instructed a century ago, the pulpit has steadily lost its authority. At the termination of the Civil War the minister was still a local oracle. Without the present means of communication with the outside world, either by travel or printed page, he enjoyed an influence in the community second

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to none. He had leisure and opportunity for study which others did not. On Sunday he was listened to with something more than respect and less than awe. His sermon was the *piece de resistance* at every table during the week. The great preachers, Henry Ward Beecher and T. DeWitt Talmadge, were national figures. It is no longer so. "Billy" Sunday is a sensationalist.

The good minister who tends his flock in every hamlet has lost none of the respect, either of that flock or the community. The sweet and wholesome influence of the church and Sunday school over the child has not grown less, nor has that of the manifold social activities of the congregation over the older folk; but men, women and children alike have come to perceive that goodness is not confined to those who attend church. Under the free institutions of the United States, where none may be persecuted because his beliefs do not conform to those of the majority, the mutual hatreds and jealousies of creeds have been diminished to a negligible quantity, and we have become aware that all that is required of us is, as Micah said, "to do justice, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God." Church, minister and priest are the same, and their respective message and work are not dissimilar, but we are no longer content with forms and beliefs, and have as our ideal only the simple doing of good and service to others.

The sympathy of a world for men and of men for a world has brought a clearer perception of "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

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In accord with a scientific spirit, the human mind working upon materials has wrought so much in the field of investigation and accomplished such tremendous results for daily comfort and well being, making it possible to overcome ills in larger measure, that the people will no longer readily accept in the sphere of religious observance that which cannot be proven on grounds of efficacy. The value of cleanliness of life, obedience to the Ten Commandments and kindness toward others may be demonstrated, but the usefulness in the daily life of man of mere traditional ritual and acceptance of time honored statement of belief is not easily to be found; hence they are discarded by increasingly large numbers. As men have thought less of impressing upon other men with refinement of cruelty that they alone represented Almighty God, they have by their kindness and mercy been enabled to perceive Him more clearly and to better understand and appreciate the Biblical injunction, "Fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." It may be expected that the pebble of this broader conception thus thrown upon the receptive surface of an awakened humanity will increase its circles until it ultimately reaches the uttermost land.

These influences have had their effect upon morality. Enlightened public opinion had done away with the grosser forms of amusement. Respect for the cleanliness and health of the human body has increased. Drunkenness is rare. Temperance and total abstinence from intoxicating liquors have be-

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come more prevalent, even where they have not been forced. Various forms of gambling have become less conspicuous and in some cities and states have been done away with. Athletic contests and exercises and outdoor games have caused more life in the open air and hence more wholesome living. And with all the multitudinous communication and knowledge between man and man, as well as respect for public order, crime and hypocrisy have become more difficult if not less desirable.

Not among the unimportant tendencies of the time is that to seek to penetrate the veil which has until now covered the grave. Hardly more than half a century ago the Fox sisters began investigations in spiritualism, in exact reproduction of the revelations of the witch of Endor three thousand years before. As the latter is said to have called up the spirit of Samuel to answer the questions of the troubled Saul, and she could see the departed prophet in vision but the King could not, so these sisters stated that they had held communication with the so-called dead. The impetus which they gave to the subject was long in reaching effect. But in the last two or three decades the number of alleged instances of demonstration of communication has become so large as to arouse the interest of such scientific observers as Flammarion, Lombroso, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Alfred Wallace and Professor Hyslop. A person who seeks light upon psychic phenomena is no longer considered "queer." Clairvoyance, clairsaudience, mesmerism and similar terms have become common. Mankind

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is awakening to the fact that the theory of evolution failed to account for the human spirit, and dimly to perceive that life is made everlasting by universal law.

With less immersion in his immediate neighborhood and more respect for himself, man has demanded a greater degree of liberty. Slavery has been done away with on this continent since 1865. Serfs have been emancipated in Russia since 1881. Republics have been established in greater number. Privileges have been swept away, and for those that remain the world has a decreasing regard. Even the Jew in this free land is beginning to receive his just due. As industrial production has become more varied and labor more skilled the emoluments of toil have increased. Women vote in some states and nations. Suffrage without property qualification has become more general. Restrictions upon public assemblage and free speech, except in war, have been lessened. The liberty of the press has increased in all countries. The tendency of the age is toward freedom under forms of law and public order.

Industry up to half a century ago was largely local. It has since become national and even international. Great stock companies have been formed to carry on worldwide industrial enterprises. Investment in the shares of these companies have been purchased by those who have surplus earnings everywhere. Along with closer community of interest there has come further discussion of the relations between the wage earner and the em-

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ployer. Better understanding has been sought. Fifty years ago the employer was allowed full sway; today he is compelled by a new spirit among men to act more justly. The result is an impetus toward the solution of the industrial problem. The participation of both sides of the controversy in the financing of a common enterprise—the greatest of wars—and the deaths of their sons and brothers on the same field of battle in the cause of democracy has accomplished much to bring about a more mutual point of view.

Events of world magnitude in the past century have made quite startling the similarity between this period and that of Columbus. As then the conquest of Mexico and Peru added to the supplies of gold by which Spain carried on its aggressive policy toward the remainder of Europe, so in this generation the production of that metal has doubled, with a resultant rise in prices and stimulated industrial development. As the great Genoese navigator discovered continents, Magellan crossed the two oceans and da Gama rounded the Cape, in our day Peary and Shackleton have completed man's knowledge of the earth on which he dwells by finding the exact location of the two poles. And as the great discoveries of new lands excited the wonder of men, we have in our time beheld scientific revelations even more marvelous in their significance. As trade routes were changed by circumnavigating Africa and making a new route to India, ruining the commerce and power of Venice, so the Suez canal has opened the old way to India and in some degree

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resuscitated the importance of Egypt; and the Panama canal has brought the peoples and continents nearer to each other and given a new life to the Pacific ocean.

For the substitution by Copernicus, Kepler and Newton of the heliocentric theory of the universe, as opposed to the geocentric idea which had led to the belief that man is the center of all things, we have had Darwin and the theory of evolution, which has taught that man was not created in a day in the Garden of Eden but as the result of slow and natural development throughout the ages. For Petrarch, Boccaccio and the Revival of Learning, this age has had its tremendous interest in archeology, education and investigation the world over. And for the great Martin Luther and his defiance of the church of his fathers, we in this time have seen an Ingersoll and a hundred others, sneering at the absurdities of old beliefs and creeds and seeking to bring about a religion of humanity. Finally as gunpowder, the disruption of Christendom through religious difference and the rivalry of peoples for share in the new discoveries brought Europe to prolonged and bloody wars, so we have seen the mightiest powers and peoples at each others' throats, battling in the fiercest hell since the beginning of human story.

Indeed, it may be said that mankind is in the greatest state of transition since the dawn of history. It is true that during the short but eventful life of Alexander, and again at the time of Cæsar, new forces were let loose on the earth which were

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to have a permanent effect upon the future; but their impact was felt chiefly around the Mediterranean basin and not by the vast populations of Central and Eastern Asia. When the Roman Empire disappeared in its own decay and Christianity grew upon its ruins another vast change was wrought. So it was when Charlemagne started the activities of men moving in new directions. And also at the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation when the modern world was born. But today mightier forces are working and with vaster portent than at any previous time. Men are stirred as not before. Seeing institutions and long cherished beliefs crumbling around them everywhere, they perceive that a new age is at hand. They realize that neither they nor the planet will ever be the same again. And the thought comes, what does it all mean? After the roar of cannon, a thousand inventions and new social, religious and political ideals, men ask whether a brighter day is coming.

What is to make the new age entirely distinct from the past? How will it react upon mankind, upon the time to come and especially upon America in the next few decades? As its causes are broader and more far reaching than those which formed any previous era, it must be apparent that its effects will be more widespread. And as those causes have embraced the earth, so the effect will be to provide means for a closer community of interest until it includes the entire race of man. The hatreds engendered by great nations struggling at war do not long endure. Two generations and they

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have passed away. But the inventive genius of the individual and the results of his creativeness will go on, and, no matter how extensive armed conflict may have been, the earth will never return to what it was before it gained the spirit to look beyond the borders of single states. So many citizens of the world have been created by steam, electricity, the printing press and the war that no cataclysm can make them provincial or merely national again.

What, then, is the meaning of the new age if it is not that it is America's mission to make every man upon the face of the earth free from privilege and monarchy and injustice, that each shall be able to speak and think without prejudice or harm, that every child upon the globe shall have an education, that any person shall have a living wage if willing to earn it, and that all shall enjoy the splendid opportunities which inventive genius and the sacrifice of the nation's manhood in heroic battle have placed at the disposal of a world? What is its portent if not that by means of physical and intellectual communication that time is near at hand when the brotherhood of man shall by the sword of the United States become a reality and the world will realize that

“He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small,
And the dear God who loveth us
He made and loveth all.”

CHAPTER V

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UNITED STATES

"Nations and peoples act from self-interest, buttressed and sustained by race rivalry and national pride, and also, thank God, from patriotism, which is love for your own country, your own government, and your own people, before and above other countries, governments and peoples. Without that patriotism, that sacred passion, which reached its sublime heights at the Marne and at Chateau Thierry, the world would not be fit to live in. Whatever plans we have, let us build them under the inspiration of the proud traditions of the Republic and the teachings of Washington and Jefferson, of Jackson and Lincoln."—William E. Borah.

NOW that republican America has put aside the traditional and studied policy of isolation from alliances scrupulously practiced by its statesmen for more than a century and has entered boldly upon a period of earnest and active participation in world war and politics a brief reexamination should be made of the ideals of society and government thought worthy of expanded influence through such a change and such tremendous sacrifice ultimately into a world conception.

It is not necessary that a thousand years shall have fled and men have read and reflected upon a universal history in order that the distinguishing characteristics of the United States be fully understood; for its significance lies within the character

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of the American people and the nature of their institutions created in 1787. What better evidence could there be of a Divine hand in history than that for so many ages those continents afterwards named North and South America should have remained unknown until a something told Columbus to seek India and find them, and that in the north temperate zone there should have amalgamated several races so that they might at exactly the propitious time three centuries afterward be able after much struggle to make the world absolutely safe for republicanism? Long after the great navigator had passed away there came to North America those who sought escape from religious intolerance. Their heads no longer in danger of the block or their bodies of torture on the rack, they braved the wilderness, fought savage Indians and established a new civilization.

These were our fathers. Greater opportunity was also sought by them. Some were adventurous and looked for a new life in the open. In increasing volume they immigrated from every European land. The hardy and practical peoples of the north of that continent built the nation. Usually from each individual family came the strongest and the most forceful and aggressive. And some of these peoples gave of their best blood when at the strongest: the Dutch when at the height of their sea power in the seventeenth century, the English when expanding into the greatest empire the world had heretofore seen in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Germans and Scan-

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dinavians from 1845 to 1860 and the Irish during the following fifty years. Latterly have come the Italians, Austrians and Hungarians. France and Switzerland have contributed a small but steady supply. Turks, Greeks, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Serbians, and latterly two and a half millions of Russians, mostly Polish Jews, have added more.

Practically all of these vastest numbers of human beings that ever migrated from one cherished spot on the earth to another have come without distinction or privilege; the few who had them were soon shorn of them in the hardships of the common lot. It was only at a later day when education became more general in Europe that some of the newcomers brought with them the rudiments of schooling. Growing up with the young country, interchanging ideas and undergoing like struggles, they developed a sense of humor found nowhere else, an energetic and aggressive spirit, and a mighty nationality.

The chief value of the constitution of the United States, the instrument framed to protect and guide all these peoples and mould them into one, is that it provides a governmental system of checks and balances, conserves the rights of the minority from encroachments by the majority to which it gives control, guarantees religious liberty and prevents centralization of authority in executive or legislature. When it is remembered that because of the lack of these benefits men underwent untold miseries for centuries and elsewhere are still lamenting their lack, the statement of Gladstone that our Con-

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stitution is the greatest instrument ever struck off at a given time by the mind of man does not seem unjustified. Created for the most part by the genius of Alexander Hamilton and containing a pattern of government for a distraught world, in its essentials it seems an inspiration from the Almighty.

Surviving a great civil war and the changes in customs and thought of 130 years, it still proves itself most just and practicable when its original spirit is strictly adhered to. Nowhere does it seem more venerable than when compared with the governmental charters and systems of other nations. In the great basic document of the United States the fundamental evils of other commonwealths have been done away with and a government "of the people, by the people and for the people" instituted among men.

While the executive in the United States is clothed with more power than that of the king in most constitutional monarchies, and more than a dictator during the period of a great war, he is entirely subject to check by the legislature. If the Congress yields its authority for the time being, it may at will recall it. If he should exceed his powers or seek to destroy the government of a free people, he may be impeached by the House of Representatives and removed by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. He is commander in chief of the army and navy and, if he has genius as a commander, may lead in the field; but even then he is still entirely subject to the will of the people as expressed through their representatives. They and not he

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have the right to declare war. He appoints to offices only in the executive and judicial branches, and cannot interfere with Congress. Those appointees may be removed for cause by the Senate.

The House of Representatives originates money bills, but cannot enact them without the critical assistance of the Senate and the signature of the President, who has the power to veto them but cannot insist upon his opposition if both houses pass them again by a two-thirds vote. The Supreme Court passes upon questions of authority between the branches of the national government and between the state and federal government and keeps them in conformity with the written constitution and the rights guaranteed to all citizens.

No nation in history ever gave its citizens such a share in the government or protected them against themselves to such an extent as the United States. In the Constitution it gave every male of twenty-one years and over the right to vote for elective public officers, leaving to the states provision for means of so doing. After the Civil War an amendment was enacted providing that the right to vote should not be denied or abridged because of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Another is now before the people removing disqualification because of sex. Neither in ancient Greece nor in any modern state was the right to vote made universal among males except in this country. The small number of those who voted for Washington has grown until today nearly five times the total population of 1790 participate in the direct election

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of the chief executive of the nation. The people own and operate the government, subject only to their own Constitution.

Never on the earth has a democracy been more pure than in this land where all men enjoy the benefits of freedom. The governments of Solon and Lycurgus were never extended to the common man, the slave or helot. Under the Roman republic the people had no universal means of expression. Class distinctions prevailed both there and in Greece. America has placed no restrictions upon the free exercise of right by any man. The son of a negro slave becomes the head of an institution of practical learning which is an inspiration to his race. A boy born in a log cabin and without schooling, except that which he gives himself, by sheer merit and love of his fellow man, is elevated in a time of stress to lead the greatest of nations. A lad ascends from canal boy to the presidency. An Ohio youth teaches country school, fights in the Civil War, and leads the country to victory in the conflict with Spain.

Another is born in Virginia in humble circumstances and arises to lead and inspire the country in an even more vital crisis and become one of the great of the earth for all time. Every boy born within the borders of the land may emulate their example, no matter how poor his circumstances, even though an inmate of an orphan asylum. As Napoleon used to say that every soldier carried in his knapsack a marshal's baton, so each youth in the United States is restricted solely by his own

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abilities, character and opportunities from ultimately assuming the highest position in the land.

Just so the avenues to wealth are open to all. The originator of every great fortune in America started without a penny and by his thrift, industry and shrewdness, stimulated by his ambition, laid the foundation of his riches. Andrew Carnegie began active life here as a telegraph operator, later saw the possibilities of the steel business, by his genius helped to organize it, and reaped the reward of his abilities as a pioneer. John D. Rockefeller opened his career as a bookkeeper. By care and shrewdness he and those who were later associated with him organized the oil industry. A fortune estimated at a billion dollars resulted. These men later became benefactors of mankind by assisting enormously in the spread of knowledge and education and in the provision of means of scientific research of a nature calculated to lengthen life and make the globe more habitable.

As much as men may deprecate some of the methods by which Rockefeller attained his wealth, it must be admitted that he merely availed himself of the opportunities of a new age and that his fellow bookkeepers had the same avenue at their disposal without the same insight and craft. James J. Hill, ablest of the builders of the Northwest, worked his way from steamboat clerk to extending the Great Northern Railroad to the Pacific. He became its executive and controlled it financially. Thomas A. Edison, George Westinghouse and Henry Ford started with nothing. By perseverance, acumen

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and inventive skill they built massive fortunes, but not without benefit to humanity.

The original John Jacob Astor was the son of a butcher. By energy and sound judgment he organized the fur trade. Jay Gould was reared on a farm and kept books for the village blacksmith. By dint of hard struggle he gained an education, became a banker and finally, by shrewd manipulation, the owner of railroads and the Western Union Telegraph Company, leaving a fortune of \$72,000,000. Cornelius Vanderbilt, founder of the fortune of that name—estimated at \$100,000,000 at his death—was also a farmer's boy and began life at sixteen by carrying produce and passengers in a sailboat from Staten Island to New York. Then taking advantage—open to all—of the demand for and growth of transportation he became a steamboat captain and the head of a great railroad system.

Another farmer's lad was Marshall Field, merchant prince of Chicago, who started as a clerk in a country store. In a land of opportunity Jacob Schiff began his career as an alien and with little help. By fighting his way through hard work and honest dealing, he became a great banker. Benjamin Altman, also a Jew, started as a peddler and left \$15,000,000 in art treasures to be enjoyed in perpetuity by the people of the City of New York. The first of the Morgans began with practically no assistance. His son, the elder J. Pierpont Morgan, was a genius as an organizer of industry and profited by it, helping to build the country and keep its financial honor intact in time of peril.

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And so throughout the list of twenty thousand millionaires it is the same. Starting with nothing, and with the advantage of compulsory struggle, they took advantage of opportunities and, with the thought that all was before them and that they were dependent solely upon their own energies and abilities, hewed out or organized new fields of production, gave employment to labor and bought with their rewards such comforts as stimulated the more general enjoyment of a higher standard of civilization.

Great lawyers, physicians, newspaper proprietors gained their start for the most part in the same way. The elder Pulitzer came to America from Germany as a cabin boy, sold papers on the streets of St. Louis, by his genius developed the St. Louis *Post-Despatch* and New York *World* and left a fortune of \$30,000,000. The elder Bennet of the New York *Herald*, the elder McLean of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Horace Greely of the New York *Tribune*, Dana of the *Sun* and Medill of the Chicago *Tribune* were dependent for their success only upon their own acumen and energy. Senator Hearst, of California, was an intrepid spirit, who, like Spreckels and Fair, took advantage of opportunity in the days of '49, extracted gold from the earth and helped to build California. Adolph Ochs, starting without help and with the handicaps of the Jewish race, solely by his genius built up one of the greatest newspapers in the world, the New York *Times*.

Thomas F. Walsh and John B. Haggin, with nerve and daring in rough and wild mining camps,

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dominated their surroundings and amassed not only the means of obtaining palatial comforts for themselves but of stimulating new industry by their capital. Presidents and members of Congress were, as boys, poor in circumstances but rich in character. Only a few have been wealthy. In the United States a man may be penniless today and rich tomorrow; he is no different from his fellow citizens in this democracy. Rich today, he may be penniless tomorrow, he also is no different from his fellows.

It is the spirit of American institutions not to respect any man because of his position or wealth gained because of those institutions, not to have any lack of respect for him because of that position or wealth, but to laud or criticise him because of qualities of personality and character which would please or displease in any man, rich or poor. Feeling that he may rise to any height of position or possession, if he has the requisite capability and opportunity, the true American has no dislike for that which he might by nerve, patience, perseverance, shrewdness, industry, thrift and sobriety aspire to, or his children some day attain. And he and his fathers have made this possible in a land which is democratic in the larger sense but has conferred its greatest benefit upon mankind by giving it the example of a representative republic.

Under these institutions, where unlimited opportunity is given to the enterprising and skillful, where property is protected by wise laws, the resourceful and aggressive people of the United States, the descendants of discoverers and pioneers,

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have found means of expressing themselves and bettering their condition by inventive capacity which has astounded humanity and caused more progress in the amelioration of human wants than in all the centuries preceding the nineteenth. The trolley car, motor propelled elevated railroad, subway train, motorboat, omnibus, automobile and motorcycle were created here, as were the electric light, telephone, telegraph, phonograph, moving picture, steam boat and railroad, typewriter, sewing machine, multiple press, wood pulp paper and the modern newspaper and magazine. With free initiative to develop to any extent of wealth industrially, increasing desire everywhere for the comforts and practical necessities of life, and a larger number of skilled laborers, the people of the country have received higher wages and professional income and attained a better standard of living than anywhere on the earth. The result has been inventive genius which has brought the greatest control by man over nature yet attained.

Run briefly through the recent evidence! The telephone was invented by Bell in 1876, the typewriter by Sholes in 1878, the cash register by Patterson in 1885, the incandescent lamp by Edison in 1878, electric furnace reduction by Cowles in 1885, electrolytic alkali production by Castner in 1890, the transparent photograph film by Eastman in 1888, the motion picture machine by Edison in 1893, the button hole sewing machine by Reece in 1881, carborundum by Acheson in 1891, calcium carbide by Willson in 1888, artificial graphite by Acheson

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in 1896, the air brake by Westinghouse in 1869, electric welding by Thomson in 1889, typebar casting by Mergenthaler in 1885, the chair stitch shoe sewing machine by French and Myers in 1881, the single type composing machine by Lanston in 1887, the continuous process match machine by Beecher in 1888, chrome tanning by Schulz in 1884, the disc plow by Hardy in 1896, the welt machine by Good-year in 1871, the electric lamp by Brush in 1879, the recording adding machine by Burroughs in 1888, celluloid by Hyatt in 1870, the automatic knot-tying harvester machine by Appelby in 1880, water gas by Lowe in 1875, the machine for making barbed wire by Glidden in 1875, the rotary converter by Bradley in 1887, the automatic car coupler by Jenney in 1873, high speed steel by Taylor and White in 1891, the dry air process for blast furnace by Gayley in 1894, block signals for railways by Robinson in 1872, the trolley car by Van Depoele and Sprague in 1887, and Harveyized armor plate by Harvey in 1891. In an earlier day Whitney invented the cotton gin and Benjamin Franklin first discovered the electric spark, born almost at the same time as the Declaration of Independence, both precursors of this age of intellectual and practical enlightenment.

Besides these American inventions, in number and importance those of other lands pale into comparative insignificance. Thus electric steel was invented by Heroult, a Frenchman, in 1900, dynamite by Nobel, a Swede, in 1867, artificial alizarine dyes

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by Graebe and Lieberman, Germans, in 1869, the siphon recorder by Thompson, an Englishman, in 1874, the gas engine, Otto cycle, by Otto, a German, in 1877, wireless telegraphy by Marconi, an Italian, in 1900, smokeless powder by Vielle, a Frenchman, in 1886, the Diesel oil motor by Diesel, a German, in 1900, the centrifugal creamer by De Laval, a Swede, in 1880, manganese steel by Hadfield, an Englishman, in 1884, the electric transformer by Gaulard and Gibbs, Englishmen, in 1883, the cyanide process for extracting metal by Arthur and DeForest, Englishmen, in 1888, the mantel burner by Welsbach, an Austrian, in 1890, and the by-product coke oven by Hoffman, an Austrian, in 1893.

To make its intense and practical life possible the United States has accomplished more for education than any other country, with the possible exception of Germany, during the past half century. Following the ideal of Luther that the child should receive mental training, in 1647 the colony of Massachusetts laid down a system of popular instruction in free schools which has been the model in principle for every state in the Union since that time. At present, of the white children in the entire country between the ages of six and nine years, 77.2 per cent. are attending school, and of negroes 49.3 per cent.; of the whites between the ages of ten and fourteen years 91.1 per cent., and of the blacks 68.6 per cent.; of the whites between the ages of fifteen and twenty years 33.7 per cent., and of the negroes 26.5 per cent.

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'Americans advancing from New England and the East generally to the Middle West and Far West took with them the little red school house, which became the tutor of many a future leader in life. Graded and high schools and numerous colleges and universities, as well as technical institutions, have been created during the past fifty years to meet the needs of a greater and more diversified population athirst for knowledge. Several countries in Europe have since greatly developed their educational systems, but the people of the United States were the first to provide universal non-sectarian instruction for all of its children, rich or poor, Catholic or Protestant, white or black. No influence in America is more democratizing than the common school and none should become more world wide.

In this country, where there is absolute equality under the law, is to be found the utmost effort to maintain public order. Great crowds on election night or receiving news of critical events need no guiding hand. In the courts the jury system and methods of appeal in both civil and criminal cases have given ample opportunity for even-handed justice. The rich are estopped from mulcting the poor and the poor are prevented by constitutional guarantees from stealing or destroying the property of the rich. Justice moves with as much celerity as crowded calendars will permit. There is no respect for persons. In cases of murder four Jews, a prominent police lieutenant, a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister within a short time pay the penalty with their lives. Every rebellion, whether

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against law and order or in opposition to the fundamental conceptions of the state, has been put down.

If courts have sometimes erred, it is because men have erred; and juries may also err. Students of jurisprudence in foreign lands have paid tribute to the high character and abilities of the bench of the United States as exemplified by such men as Jay, Marshall, Brewer, Harlan, White, Hughes and Taft. The bar of the country, too, is careful to maintain a high standard. William Nelson Cromwell, Philander C. Knox, Elihu Root and John C. Spooner are the peers of the great lawyers of any land.

At no previous time has the United States proved the efficacy of republicanism than after its entrance into the great war. Never in history did a nation of such numbers and wealth so earnestly and thoroughly turn themselves from an isolation founded upon peace to a mighty warlike machine for freeing oppressed peoples—the greatest of all triumphs of free institutions—the beginning of its work of making all men everywhere free.

This, then, is the meaning of the United States, known to every lad within its borders and soon announced to the poorest immigrant: that this government of the free provides an asylum for the oppressed of every Caucasian and therefore assimilable race; that the many transfused into the one have made the American people, the most vital the earth has known; that equal opportunity is offered by our republican institutions to every individual to attain to the highest position and greatest wealth

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and to quietly enjoy without molestation the fruits of his toil; that Catholic, Protestant, Greek or Jew may worship the Creator in his own way and without suffering from law or prejudice; that the child of every citizen, native or foreign born, shall have the right of non-sectarian education at the expense of the state; that every man, and soon every female as well, of twenty-one years and over shall have the right to vote and hold office; that under liberty and wise laws every man, woman and child in the land shall have greater comfort and joy of living than anywhere in the world, now or throughout the past; that it is the ideal of the people of America to give their civilization to the earth, and that it is willing to yield its last resource of life and material to accomplish that end.

CHAPTER VI

MENACES TO THE REPUBLIC

"The principle of democracy is corrupted not only when the spirit of equality is extinct, but likewise when it falls into a spirit of extreme equality, and when each citizen would fain be upon a level with those whom he has chosen to command him. Then the people, incapable of bearing the very power they have delegated, want to manage everything themselves, to debate for the Senate, to execute for the magistrates and to decide for the judges."—Montesquieu.

TO those means provided in the original Constitution for giving expression to the popular will there have sprung up during the past few years opponents who have pointed out what they have termed their imperfections and declared that they are inadequate to meet the needs of a more diverse civilization and to give force quickly enough to the wishes of the majority. These opponents, therefore, urge that extra constitutional powers be given to the electorate, such as the initiation of new legislation by a stated number of voters, the referendum of important measures to the people, and the recall of public officers and judicial decisions distasteful to the greater number of citizens. With these inaugurated in their completest extent the country would not longer be so much a republic, based upon truly representative government, as a

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pure democracy patterned after that of Athens subsequent to the reforms of Solon and Cleisthenes.

Inasmuch as this problem of whether purely democratic or generally representative and republican government is best for this country and the entire world, of late has been uppermost in the minds of political thinkers, let us investigate whether it would be wise to give more radical scope to the tendency toward the former at this time. If the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the government of the United States have brought a happiness and prosperity greater than ever given to any people on the earth heretofore, does not the burden of proof rest upon the opponents of this system to show that it has outworn its usefulness? If the American people and others who have come to their shores have gained a greater degree of liberty, more comforts, higher wages and wealth that has exceeded the dreams of avarice, do they need added functions to express their will? If an American has a full opportunity to express himself at the Australian ballot for measures, candidates and officers, does he need a further voice in public affairs than he now possesses?

No process in America is so easy as that of making laws. In Congress a member of the House or Senate, at the instance of a constituent or upon his own initiative, drops into a basket in the office of the file clerk, to be printed or referred to proper committee, a bill for any purpose from removing the capital of the nation to the Ozark mountains to preparing the country for the emergency of war.

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If the originator of the bill speak for widespread opinion or real merit, his measure is granted a hearing. Arguments are made by witnesses for and against, members of the committee desiring to hear both sides, and if the cause be not insistent in its necessity, it is left to die for the time being by a majority vote. If worthy, it is reported to the body which the committee represents, a day set for its discussion and is then passed or rejected. The men who constitute the personnel of the various committees are those thought to be best fitted by previous training and experience for the consideration of such measures as are likely to come before them. If passed, the measure goes through exactly the same channels of consideration in the co-ordinate branch of the Congress. In the forty-eight states legislatures the process is about the same. And so in a lesser degree in the aldermanic bodies of most cities.

To assist in giving information of fact regarding all measures intended to expedite the conduct of the executive branch, various commissions and bureaus have been created. No government in the world has ever collected, digested and distributed to the officials of the separate states and the people generally a wider range of useful information. And members of Congress have at their disposal one of the three largest libraries on the earth, any book of which may be secured by pneumatic tube within five or ten minutes. Party government prevails and the measures favored indirectly through convention platform by the people before they elect

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their representatives are voted out of committee, but are subject to the criticism of the opposition both in committee and on the floor. The great appropriation bills are considered with little party prejudice and with patriotic attention to duty.

To say that measures include "pork barrels" and are subject to "log rolling" is only to admit that men are human after election to Congress as before, as "pork" means merely an attempt on the part of a representative to satisfy the desire of the people of his district or state for new public building or improvement, and "log rolling" a further effort to satisfy their wishes by combination with a sufficient number of others of the same purpose to get the measure enacted. Without careful analysis and submission of plans by the architect of the Treasury or the engineers of the War Department the details of these measures would be unlikely to get past the committee, and if they did not for the most part contain merit they would not be able to meet the criticism of the two houses and the country. Even the much criticised mileage is founded upon the just custom of making it sufficient to defray the expenses of transporting the member and his family to and from Washington.

Not even under Reed and Cannon was the House of Representatives deprived of an inherent right or of any freedom in expressing itself. Those speakers appointed the majority members of the committees by and with the consent of their party colleagues, and accepted the recommendations of the minority leader for the remainder. Their dic-

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tum in this respect and as parliamentarians was subject to the genuine rule of a majority of the entire House. They were leaders and patriots, and were so well thought of as to be prominently mentioned as candidates for the Presidency. As strong characters they made enemies, but the people or their representatives were not less able to find expression because of them.

In the state legislatures the give and take of party combat, or the agreement of some of the members of one party to do certain things if some members of the other party will agree with them on certain legislation, should not be ground for stating that the majority of the voters cannot express its will through them, for the reason that any positive violation of public ethics is immediately detected by the remainder of the representatives, or the executive and his assistants in minor offices, and used for party purposes throughout the general constituency of the state. Aldermen are subject to the same fire of criticism through local avenues of opinion. Executives are subject to removal upon charges at any time and hold office but for a short period of from one to four years. Legislators continue for from one to six years. The people may remove any or all of them at the subsequent election and replace them by those more to their satisfaction. The Supreme Court helps to maintain guarantees of expression which the people originally in the fundamental law gave themselves.

That the men who hold office in either the legislative, executive or judicial branch of the national

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government are truly representative is evidenced by the fact that in nearly every district in the United States from whence they have been chosen or appointed they are entitled to the respect and admiration of their fellow citizens. Members of the Senate and House and the governors of states are looked up to as far above the average in their respective communities, not merely because of their position but due to their character and attainments. In the few cases where the contrary is true the difference in feeling is the result of disclosures after election. As much as their constituents may come to differ with them politically, and though they may be ultimately defeated for that reason, many thus rejected are still regarded highly by their contemporaries and some by the historian.

Members of the Cabinet have been men of distinction and unsullied character, with very rare exceptions. Lesser offices in both legislative and executive branches are filled by more than usual ability. Because of the American love of public honors, individuals often give up more lucrative vocations to serve the state, and hereafter many will be veterans of the great war. Judges of every kind of court are frequently revered as having in their lives exemplified the justice they are expected to deal. In the United States the ablest talent is enabled to reach the highest position, and so on down through the different gradations to the minor places. If the occupant of the lower office has the ability and personality to serve and please the people in a large way, he may reach the highest.

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If the holder of the highest authority abuses the power the people have given him, he may be quickly removed.

Some of the members of the federal Senate and House have served for many years. They are highly trained experts and wise servants of the nation. Having to deal with the making of laws, most of the members are lawyers, but a large percentage is composed of business men, with a sprinkling of doctors and representatives of other professions. In the state legislatures and local bodies the same average prevails. The civil service laws make imperative an efficient corps of employees. A great body of postmasters, postal clerks and letter carriers and the police of large cities like New York testify to their character. No men are so amenable to public opinion and so frightened by it as elected legislative and executive officials. They love power and the business of government and, therefore, long to retain it. Hence their approachableness and constant desire to please the voters. Often they hesitate to take action in a definite way where opinion is seemingly evenly and bitterly divided. On the other hand, where there is a strong demand for a measure and they believe it to be right they lose no time in currying favor with their constituents and the country by voting for it.

Representatives like James W. Good, of Iowa, working unremittingly to promote good statutes, and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, with no thought but the common and material good of the nation, are among the highest examples of

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the patriotic men who have served in the national legislature. And on the Democratic side patient and pains-taking members like Champ Clark and Senator Oscar W. Underwood have had the esteem not only of their own party but that of the opposition. In the governorship men of the character of Charles E. Hughes and Samuel S. McCall have felt their responsibility to the enlightened opinion of their time and endeavored to represent and lead it. In the Presidency no men could have been more quick to respond to the awakened conscience of the nation than William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. In the cities mayors like William J. Gaynor, of New York, the elder Carter Harrison, of Chicago, and James Rolfe, Jr., of San Francisco, have been an honor to the constituents who honored them.

Are the representatives of the people in the legislative halls of Congress—communicative and kindly disposed toward their fellows, with abilities far above the average, elected because popular—subject to the sinister influence, power and even bribery of special interests? Does there exist in Washington a lobby which makes a business of corrupting those who enact the laws? It is true that there are numerous and more or less well paid lobbyists who represent only those who send them. If they have succeeded in bribing members of Congress the careful scrutiny of their colleagues and the vigilance of 154 representatives of the press, who are the eyes of the people in Washington, have been unable to detect but very few instances of it

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during the past quarter of a century. The character of the men who are sent by the people to both houses would indicate that it has almost never occurred.

Yet every special interest of sufficient importance has a representative in the Capital. The farmers have sent officials of the Grange to seek legislation which would best affect those who till the soil. The American Federation of Labor has maintained a paid lobby for many years, endeavoring to have laws passed of advantage to union labor. Those in favor of the conservation of national resources have maintained a representative and assistants to accomplish what they desire. So have the timber men. Manufacturers of whiskey, beer and wines have had offices, attorneys and clerks, as also the Anti-Saloon League. The National Association of Manufacturers and the Builders Association have likewise been well represented. Other influential attorneys are paid by the railroads. During the consideration of a tariff bill and the extended activities of war the number of lobbyists becomes legion. In these instances more than one industry oftentimes employs the same man. Merchants, manufacturers, and government employees who have special interests of any kind have paid lobbyists in Washington.

Who then represent the people of the United States? Who are disinterested in the special pleas of any of the lobbyists and seek the common good? Alas! only the 435 men of tried character and ability who serve them in the House of Repre-

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sentatives and the ninety-six similar men in the Senate. And the 154 eyes!

How does the paid lobbyist work, then, and what does he accomplish? With 6,502 farms, a farming population of 49,348,883 and a value of farm property of \$40,991,000,000 it is not surprising that the rural population should through agencies outside of the Department of Agriculture seek to gain legislation of benefit to themselves, such as financial credits. With a total of 2,604,701 labor unionists who pay dues and are keenly anxious to advance their own cause, it is not remarkable that they should attempt to influence Congress. And so with 270,082 manufacturing establishments, 7,707,751 persons at work in them and a capitalization of \$18,490,749,000, a total of 1,815,239 engaged in railroading with a capitalization of \$10,796,125,712, and the banking interests of the richest nation on the earth.

The duty of the lobbyist is mainly to collect information as to what measure of interest to his particular client is likely to come up for discussion, to ask that a day be set for public hearings, and then to send out letters or telegrams to those he wishes to present arguments for his side before a committee. He also sometimes directs through local affiliations the sending of thousands of messages to members of Congress, all of the same tenor, urging for the general good of the community if favored, or blasting as harmful to the public weal if opposed. Some of these men are despised by members of Congress as menials. Others are highly

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respected as eminent legal talent or as authorities upon the subjects and interests they speak for. There being no clericals, aggrarians or special divisions according to class in Congress, and each member being the representative of all the people of his district, rich and poor, black and white, it is perhaps a natural result that each body of citizens desiring definite results at the hands of the representatives of all the people by a majority vote should have attorneys of their own on the ground to supply through the immense avenues of communication in this country the information they need and to appear for them before committees and argue cases.

So far as I have been able to judge, through a quite thorough knowledge of these men, gained while seeking news, they are, on the average, men of standing and have the unquestioned confidence of those they represent. Members of Congress listen to them much as judges listen to lawyers. An individual representative or senator might have sympathy for the law or class pleaded for, as in the case of a labor leader sent to Congress; but back of all is the elected legislature of the people of the United States, amenable to the will and sometimes to the whim of the people, and therefore desirous of pleasing them because subject to defeat.

Some there are who believe that men and women are morally corrupt, that the government of the people established by those who have suffered from the errors of other political forms has become a failure because all of its public servants are alleged

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by them to be dishonest or in the pay of big business interests, and that unless the people are given more power than ordained for them in the constitution they will be unable to obtain the just rights there granted. The fact is that nearly all of the women and nine-tenths of the men are good and are well disposed toward their fellow men if given half a chance, that the government Lincoln described as the best that ever conserved liberty on the earth never produced more honest, faithful or efficient public servants than now, and that the people have at the present moment every means of fully expressing their will.

Men and women are what they are and not what they sometimes think themselves, or what some people sometimes attempt to make them think they are. They are inclined toward better things and desire to hear and do that which will bring those things nearer to them and the community in which they dwell and have citizenship. Yet they are sometimes befogged by those who make statements to them that all the world is wrong and that the only true way to set it right is by subscribing to the ideas and leadership of such persons.

Sometimes these persons are genuinely desirous of bringing about changes in the political complexion of the state in order to give the people more power. But more frequently they criticise the form of the government in order that they may be tempted to take office. The electorate is told by such persons that it is capable of anything. The printers' devil of twenty-one in the great modern

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newspaper is as capable of giving expression to the pulsating life of the nation as the editor in chief, the young law clerk is as much master of the intricacies of statute, decision and practice as the head of the firm, the newest clerk of managing the Steel Corporation as its president, the freshest brakeman of running a train as the oldest engineer on the road, the newly graduated youth from college of directing a great banking house as the leader of Wall street, the uninitiated who bets on margins as the capable member of the Stock Exchange who has been buying and selling for forty years, the city lad of sowing, gathering and threshing wheat as the wisest farmer, the land lubber of running a ship in time of storm as the most weather beaten skipper, the old maid of bringing up children as the mother of several of them, the entered apprentice of laying the compass as the master mason himself.

The reason why each of these is as worthy and well qualified as the other is that all are twenty-one years of age. They vote; therefore the judgment of one is as good as the other on any abstract or technical question that may arise. These men and women of twenty-one years and over are born legislators and jurists! Irrespective of calling, training or position in life, the person without experience or reflection is endowed with as much wisdom in deciding an intricate issue before the municipality, state or nation as the man who has given to it that care which is the result of years of valuable training! Was reasoning ever more fallacious?

All kinds and qualities of men and women have a

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voice in the government of the United States, but the framers of the Constitution designed that they should express themselves indirectly and through their representatives, so that they might secure the wisest and most just laws. If any one will reflect, he must acknowledge that the men by whom he is surrounded in his locality are not all alike. Some have an aptitude for study and thought. Some have practical genius. Others center their attention upon pleasures of the passing moment. Some are industrious and worthy. Others are not. Some have great abilities. Others have lesser talents. But all, whether trained or not, have more or less common sense. That is why all are included in the government.

The best exercise of that common sense lies in selecting men who have shown evidence of trustworthiness and more than average ability to represent them on the bench, in the legislature or in executive office to sift the argument of every side, discuss and decide upon matters of common benefit which the people as a whole have neither time nor mental capacity to discuss and decide. They decide upon the sort of men and platform they wish to represent them and they leave the details of administration and legislation to such men. This implies that the people constitute the fourth and most important branch of the government, and that they must do their duty as effectively as they demand that their servants do theirs. It might be thought that the people, clamorous for more authority, have exercised to the full that which they now have. Yet

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in 1916 a total of but 18,638,871 men and women, black and white, voted in the United States out of a male white population, twenty-one years and over, of about 27,000,000.

A few years ago certain reformers declared that by giving the people of Pennsylvania more power through the primary and direct election of senators the result would inevitably be the elimination from public life of Boise Penrose, who was said to be the worst type of boss. But when the people received the additional powers Penrose was reelected by a majority of 250,000 votes. The reason was that Penrose had proven himself a leader of men, whether in legislature or primary. This primary system was put forward as a sure method of making it easier for the poor but independent man to serve the public in office and to prevent cliques and special interests from controlling the decision of the electorate. It has had the opposite effect. Those contending for important elective office have been subjected to greater expense. It has become more difficult for a candidate to succeed without large personal wealth.

Under the convention system each party placed in nomination its most promising and invulnerable leaders in order to defeat the opposition at the polls. The result was a Lincoln, a Grant, a Cleveland, a McKinley and a Roosevelt. In several of the states the primary has been used by only a small percentage of the total number of possible party voters. The selection is thus left to those who are more selfishly interested in party affairs.

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In this respect, it substitutes no good for the convention system and is much more expensive to the tax payers. When Henry Ford, a Democrat, is made a candidate for the Presidency in the Republican primary in Michigan and defeats the Republican contender the system becomes ridiculous.

At enormous cost special elections have been held upon technical matters which might have been left to the legislature to decide. To merely place a certain issue upon the ballot is not in itself a guarantee that it will receive thorough consideration by the people as a whole. Because of a spirit of discontent pervading the electorate during the past decade great fundamental changes have been made in the government of the states and nation. When this tide reacted for a time a constitution containing many wise reforms for the benefit of the State of New York was vetoed by the people by a majority of half a million votes. The decision of the people upon an abstract question is expressive of a tendency only, and not of such judgment after careful and expert consideration by the majority of the electorate as has been given to it by its enthusiastic advocates.

Few men attempt to try their own case in court; they employ a lawyer. So it is with the people; they elect representatives. To contend that every man who whittles a stick at the village store is not an expert on a technical public problem which may be submitted to him is not evidence of a distrust of the people; it is common sense. He decides such questions in a general way and votes for a repre-

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sentative to enact them specifically. This is the secret of the success of this government of ours which has been thus carried through every national crisis and given some of the noblest characters of history.

Yet there have sometimes come before the court of public opinion those who have prayed that the methods of expressing the popular will be changed so as to conform more nearly to that of Athens, where the entire population was half slave, where five hundred of the citizens sitting as a court condemned Socrates to death because he was opposed to Paganism; sought to assail Alcibiades, their ablest general, for an alleged profanation of the popular religious rites when about to attack Syracuse, condemned him to death, caused his escape and then his recall; and permitted Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, to equip an expedition against Paros without telling them what it was for and then fined him heavily because he failed. In such a small community the people acted upon the prejudice of the moment and were jealous of their powers. They neither trusted their representatives nor instituted courts to compel them to obey forms of fundamental law which they had previously made.

In the United States an hundred millions of people have in their government profited by the mistakes of earlier republics and monarchies. They have prescribed checks against the suave demagogue who would pave the way for tyranny by smooth words. Expressing themselves with wis-

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dom upon large issues, and selecting men they can trust to make their wishes law, the American people have become more informed and more capable, but have clung tenaciously, for the most part, to the principle provided in the Constitution that the most talented and respected among them shall legislate for them and that they shall not legislate for themselves as a whole.

Is it not a menace to the republican institutions of the United States to remove the safeguards for the making of wise laws by men best fitted for the task? It is not a menace if, in the interests of what is termed pure democracy, in a land where the people are already more democratic than ever before on the earth, and where it is so easy to initiate legislation if there is sufficient demand for it, law making is taken out of the hands of the legislature, chosen because of its competency, at the instance of a minority, and placed in the hands of the electorate as a whole, the entire number of the individuals of which cannot in the nature of the case decide with judgment for the full benefit of the taxpayer and the community?

Through the channels they already have the people have unearthed scandals, legislated so as to prevent them in the future, curbed the power of large corporations, made great public improvements, provided a more perfect currency system, provided for the development of the military and naval establishment of the United States so as to win another great war, and elected officials of high character to govern them. Is it not a menace to sta-

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bility of our institutions and even-handed justice if, after their representatives have considered a problem from every point of view and decided as they deemed right, the people have it referred to them for direct vote at a time when the slander and clamor may be rampant and perhaps upset that fair and wise judgment already made; especially when they have established authority to remove those representatives at the subsequent election and place others in power who will reverse the decision if after the intervening time it has been proven to be wrong? Would it not be a menace to the wise safeguards of life and property provided in the Constitution, if a loser in a case decided by judges selected by the people because of fitness shall be permitted to befog the issue and have it referred to the voters upon the most superficial grounds?

Those who would make a democracy out of the Republic are apt to be men of great egotism and selfishness. In intense desire to accomplish their own will they chafe at restraints of law and seek to remove them by honeyed words to the electorate so that they may gain more and more power, punish their enemies and subvert the very rights for which they may have in wide generalizations been so vigorously contending. In the past they have frequently succeeded by this means. At other times they have not hesitated to take up arms for what they declared to be the common good but what was in reality an attempt to gain sole power. Peistratus is an example.

The evil of the initiative, referendum and recall

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is best exemplified by such a measure as that providing for the complete preparation of the nation for war. After the declaration of war against Germany in 1917 there was considerable opposition to the draft and to this and that means of compelling all citizens by conservation of food and effort to assist to their utmost in combating the common enemy. Upon the recommendation of the executive branch of the government, the national legislature made an exhaustive analysis of conditions and then made a thorough effort to place the country in position to win the conflict. Expert advice of military authorities was received. Those in Congress and among the people who were opposed to so great a military establishment were regarded as pacifists, mollicoddles and traitors. Those who sought the utmost preparation were in their turn regarded by some absurd idealists as attempting to make this a militarist nation second only to Germany itself. Feeling ran high.

Those in the minority, after their defeat in Congress, through twenty-five per cent. of the electorate might, under a referendum, have brought on a special election and had the subject debated over again in the midst of clamor and excitement and without the digestion of expert evidence by competent and representative minds at first hand. The large number of those who are perfectly willing to sacrifice to the utmost so long as they do not have to do so personally might have brought disaster to the United States and the world for generations. Had a sufficient number,

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under the same democratic system, initiated measures to bring about immediate peace at that time when the country needed to be prepared, as against the decision of the President and the Congress, the situation would have been inconceivably worse. And under this system the justices of the Supreme Court who upheld the draft law might have been subjected to a recall for doing so. It is unthinkable that the people would have decided adversely, but the air would have been filled with rancorous debate, time would have been lost from concentration upon the aim of successful warfare, and public funds would have been wasted. Then not only the minority but all citizens would have ultimately suffered.

CHAPTER VII

MENACES TO LIBERTY

"Protection, therefore, against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough; there needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them; to fetter the development and, if possible, prevent the formation of any individuality not in harmony with its ways, and compel all characters to fashion themselves after the model of its own. There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence; and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good conduct of human affairs as protection against political despotism."—John Stuart Mill.

THE framers of the Constitution of the United States determined to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity. They guaranteed to every state in the Union a republican form of government, declared that the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures should not be violated, and stated that the enumeration in the document of certain rights should not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. Those who followed them in the congress they created provided that the right of citizens to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of

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race, color or previous condition of servitude. It is not likely that either the original makers or their successors contemplated new forms of attempts to abridge the liberty of the citizens, which would arise with the development of the civilization they helped to establish. Nor is it probable that they foresaw that the instrument they gave America in order to bring about the benefits named in the preamble would be so misconstrued in some instances as to prevent the very rights stipulated therein.

Nevertheless there has manifested itself, along with the tremendous industrial progress of the last half century, and with the desire to provide material means for betterment and to do away with that which is a harm to the individual, a tendency to take away the right of a man to better himself in his own way and to make it the province of the community to do so; to deny rights of happiness and independence to some unless conferred by the organization which the greater number have sworn allegiance to; to stifle initiative, individuality and ambition in the interests of what is termed the common good; to deny the suffrage to masses of intelligent persons with life and property to defend, in spite of a fulfillment by them of the stipulations of the Constitution thereto; to increase governmental agencies for investigating and regulating the conduct of private business without full regard to basic economic law; to establish a state within the state in the interests of an organization outside of the state; in short, to establish under the name

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and form of the public weal a tyranny of the majority.

No monarchy, oligarchy or aristocracy in the history of man ever inflicted such severe punishments upon the individual, and always to what was said to be his advantage, than a majority acting in common to compel him at the point of the sword, the rack or the law to believe the principles acceptable to or decreed by the greater number of a community, country or empire. With cruel and oftentimes inhuman treatment they deprived the minority of the right to think and act as it pleased, even when others were not thereby harmed, and of happiness and life. The Greeks banished and put to death those who particularly disagreed with or displeased the majority. The greater number of Romans, in their allegiance to Paganism, impaled and threw to the lions the Christians. Then, at the height of its power, the Roman church, with a majority of adherents in Christendom, invented refinements of cruelty for those who differed with it, burning them alive at the stake, torturing them with hot irons, breaking them open or crushing them on the rack for the good of their souls and because they did not subscribe to the latest vagaries of credulity.

Protestants against this church, when they gained the power of a majority under Calvin in Geneva and Knox in Scotland strung up by the thumbs and slit the tongues of those who did not attend church or indulge in what to them seemed innocent amusement. Servetus suffered for his individuality at the stake. The Puritans in Massachusetts placed

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in prison or the stocks and led to the whipping post those who did not wear black or otherwise failed to obey their strict regimen. This also for the good of those punished and the glory of God. During the revolt of the peasants in Luther's time nothing was sacred and nothing free from the wrath and destruction of the majority in a given locality who considered that it should become the master. Despite the reforms that were steadily being made between 1789 and 1793, in the latter year the greater number of the people of France, taking the law in their own hands, guillotined or otherwise murdered no less than 1,200,000 man, women and children who did not believe as they did. Cromwell overthrew in the name of better government one tyranny in order to establish another. So did the Bolsheviks in our own day in Russia.

The government of the United States is an attempt to safeguard the people who dwell within its borders from abuses at the hands of a majority. It has provided in its fundamental law that the rights and interests of the minority shall be protected. Throughout a century and a half of national life these rights have been preserved and developed by a people jealous of them. But prior to our entrance into the great war, which caused a relinquishment of all desires to the aims of the state, there had been a growing tendency to regulate the life of the individual according to the pattern of the entire electorate, to circumscribe the opportunity of every man to use his life as he would and for what he considered to be his benefit so long as

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he thought the similar rights of others were not interfered with.

This tendency is revealed to a certain extent by those opposed to the use of intoxicating liquors in any form except for medical purposes. Men and women had been using fermented grape and grain as intoxicants during thousands of years. The Bible has several references to the subject. "Be not among those who drink wine immoderately," it says. In Egypt, Greece, Rome, Northern Europe, ancient Mexico and Peru, in our own time, it has been a habit of the entire human race to seek stimulation and excitement. And the abuse of the habit has been assailed for quite as long a period. The Prohibitionists who have become so prominent in American politics have much that is reasonable in their contentions. They regard alcoholic liquor as a poison. They declare the effect of the drinking of it is to gradually undermine the health, cause inebriety and habitual drunkenness, destroy the stability of the home, produce weak and badly nourished children, distort the notions of the brain and lead to immorality and crime. Hence they have legislated that their general use shall be as effectually stopped as that of opium or cocaine, and that, incidentally, the liquor traffic shall, as seems to them, no longer corrupt legislatures and debauch the public conscience.

But the Prohibitionists are among the extremists, who, while right in principle, have been often mistaken in the practicality of their aims. If every man who drank of whiskey, wine or beer became a

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drunkard thereby, their position would be unassailable. But what of the Frenchman, the Italian, the German, the Englishman who enjoys a glass of beer or wine in his home? Physicians disagree as to the effect of the mild use of liquor. Some say it aids digestion, others that it is as insidious as arsenic. I am inclined to agree with the latter opinion. But there is a tendency on the part of those who have come to this conclusion to impose through a majority of the people their will upon others to such an extent as to forever prohibit the mildest use of liquor, thereby interfering with the personal conduct of the individual in his enjoyment of a habit which is deleterious and dangerous in the abuse and not the temperate pursuance of it. Prohibitive law in the face of a weakness which has survived the tests of time may not entirely obliterate it, and this leads to an hypocrisy which lessens respect for law. The demand for industrial efficiency, the development of health and sanitation, the broadening of the field of amusement, and the force of opinion have accomplished more in the direction of abstinence and sobriety than all the political extremists.

Ice cream soda is really the national drink. The reason for this is that the crossed American stock is so vital it does not require further stimulant than tea and coffee. But the uncrossed stock, with its lesser vitality, it may be, does need mild stimulation. The constitution having been amended to prevent their having it, it would be a menace to the full play of individuality which Americans have

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always enjoyed if prohibition should be a step in general reformation by which cigarettes shall be suppressed, the stage and moving picture screen be censored by the narrow minded, and written and spoken expression be interfered with. If prohibition does in the long run actually prohibit, it will be the first time in history that morals have been adequately and permanently imposed by law.

Of greater present importance to the liberty of the toiler and of each independent citizen is that attitude of union labor toward non-union labor by which it seeks to prevent any from working in an industrial establishment unless he agrees to conform to the prescribed mandates of the union, and that attitude of the employer by which he refuses to deal with employees if members of a union. Self interest is justifiable and the right of laborers to organize should not be denied; but the practice by which a majority of union men in a plant sometimes seek to *forcibly* prevent independence of speech and action is to be reprehended in the name of genuine freedom. By organization wage earners secure advantages in condition, pay and time from their employers. Sanitary surroundings in factories, the prevention of child labor, extra pay for overtime and a living wage should be granted and sanctioned. But the United States is founded upon the principle of liberty for every man within the law as a just right to which he is entitled. It is an infringement of that liberty when a laboring man, who for reasons of his own does not desire to join a union, is

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maltreated by the majority of employees who are union men, when able by experience and capacity to secure service and wages otherwise, simply because he refuses to accept membership with them.

It is not less a tyranny and an attempt to set up a state within a state when trade unionists use other than peaceable measures to attain their demands from their employers, and also seek in this way to prevent non-union men from taking their places, as roused as they may be and as just as their grievances often are. They should find means in the give and take of industrial contention, in peaceful strike, or within the law to seek that redress for their grievances which the electorate would no doubt be glad to grant if well founded. Should men and women not receive the wages they are entitled to they should be given them, but that can be determined by reason alone, and the justice of it cannot be proven by maiming men, burning the plants of employers or using dynamite.

Nor can labor unionists appeal to the general public as fair when they resort to the method of regulating the speed of all in a given work to the capacity of the slowest man and thereby padding the profits of their labor by compelling those who employ them to take more men in such a job than are needed. When they do so act they prove that they comprise a selfish element in the community which is seeking to prevent honest competition and efficiency and to interfere with the laws of supply and demand in order that they may receive greater benefits than otherwise. If a citizen does not de-

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sire to purchase the product which bears a union label it is his affair; and if a number of such citizens seek to prevent others who have no direct interest in the controversy from buying that product, it is an infringement of the liberty of every person to buy and sell in the market as he pleases.

Union men should have the right to make their scale what they please and to withdraw from work whenever they prefer, if their demands are not granted, and the employer has the same right to employ other men in their places if he chooses, for one has the free right to sell his labor and the other has the free right to buy labor; but in a controversy of peaceful kind the employer and employee should be compelled by law to submit their honest differences to a board of arbitrators so that approximate justice may be done. Many employers desire that their employees organize so that it may be more satisfactory to deal with them through collective bargaining, but this should not deprive the minority of non-union laborers in a plant of the right of peaceful labor. Nor should unionists be allowed to picket outside of retail shops and warn passers-by from entering the place because non-union men or women are employed therein.

The formation of a separatist labor party, having as its object the control by unionists of the local, state or national government, in order that the resulting minority might be forced to accept its dictates, would be a danger to the country, if effective, because of the ascendancy of one element. Such movements, however, have never been vic-

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torious, except temporarily and locally, and have usually caused a reaction from worthy objects which would otherwise be obtained from either or both of the older political organizations. Among these is equal pay for men and women who do equal work as wage earners in industry.

Passing from the aims of the trade unionists which are mild and for the most part beneficial, the Syndicalists, Industrial Workers of the World and Socialists advance much further and seek to establish a tyranny of not only the majority but the mediocre as well. They propose to set up classes in America, which have never existed since the government was established and cannot thrive where every man may become a millionaire or ruler, and where every millionaire or ruler is a laboring man. The primary assumption upon which the pleas of these extremist organizations are based is that labor creates value. If labor alone creates value it is entitled to its full return in the entire profits of production. Proceeding upon this premise, the Syndicalist argues that he should by stealth or whatever underhanded means may seem to him to be necessary wreck the plant of his employer in order that out of such a warfare he may gain more and more of the value of the product; the I. W. W. that he will precipitate industrial revolution by violent means in order that he may gain the same ends; the Socialist that the means of socially necessary production and distribution shall be owned and operated in common. From this the latter

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draws the conclusion that the result will be the elimination of what he is pleased to term "exploitation by capitalism," that all will be treated alike and that at last industrial and political justice will prevail.

But the assumption as to value is not justified by fact. Labor does not create value. If it did, the same amount of labor of like kind would produce an exactly equal result. But a man may work eight or ten hours during a day in a gold mine, a saw mill or a cheese factory, and his exertion and wage be the same but his product entirely different. That which gives the value to the ore, the planed lumber and the cheese is its worth, regulated by supply and demand, in the markets of the world. A person may scoop placer metal out of a stream and give very little labor to the task, but the gold is not less valuable for that. Neither are diamonds, one of which may be mined with comparative ease and yield more value than many years spent by an individual in milking cows. Should the alchemist after his search of centuries find the secret of artificially producing the most precious of the metals he would cheat himself in the end, for by that very means he would cheapen and make it as common dirt.

What a man sells to his employer—all the declarations of Congress notwithstanding—is not that which will make the product valuable, but something which in itself has value—a day's labor. Every man is worth three dollars a day from his neck down; above that is a matter of brains. It

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may be that without labor gold could not be mined or fish be caught, but it may be urged as well that the labor by itself is worth three dollars per day while the gold by itself is worth its value in the markets of commerce, whether extracted by pick or shovel or machinery and that the fish are valuable because people desire to eat them.

A man without financial means, believing he can find a gold mine, borrows money, sets out for Mexico, spends several years in hardships, adheres by strong character to his purpose, meets another who has a claim, makes a contract with him to share the profits, returns to his starting place, with his organizing ability gets others to risk their savings, thus gains sufficient capital to unlock the secrets of the earth, forms a corporation, selects those experts to run it who also have their price in the labor market, sees that legal rights are protected, goes to the mine, gives his ability to the new enterprise and employs laborers who have not the initiative or ability to make more than a dollar or two a day, uncovers a bonanza, and as his share makes a million while those who have invested with him make tremendous profits.

The laborers who took the employment because it was nearest at hand and gave them three meals and a bed now come forward and state that it was their labor that produced the gold and that they are entitled to the full value of it; they desire that the result in wealth shall be divided equally between them. Such a plea is repugnant to the spirit of the United States because it would rob him who

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has initiative, thrift, honesty, industry and frugality of the rewards of his enterprise and skill and give them to those who supply only their labor to the equation.

It is also a part of the plea of the three organizations named that there is such a hobgoblin as "capitalism" which, employing labor, exploits it for its own selfish ends. Yet capital is nothing more or less than accrued earnings. Any person who saves the rewards of his toil of no matter what kind, instead of spending them for what would delight him for the time being, is a capitalist. When he and others combine their surplus or capital to make a sufficient sum to develop a given industry they employ labor at its value in the local market and do not "exploit" it by giving it the means of earning its daily bread. If that labor is more skilled and therefore more scarce, they are compelled to pay a higher price for it. The more skilled and valuable the laborer becomes the greater is his emolument until, as in the case of the head of the Steel Corporation, he received \$1,000,000 a year. The latter is no less a laborer than the man who makes three dollars per diem.

The combined earnings of the past, running up into the billions or a few hundred dollars, and invested in stock companies, receive a certain dividend or return, give employment to great numbers, and help to make products which receive their value because of the demand for them in the market, due to their worth and their supply. The idea that all the laborers should share equally in these returns

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instead of the investors or capitalists, and that accrued earnings when used to give employment to them is really used to exploit them is an obvious absurdity; for any one of the commonest laborers may by the same ambition, initiative, skill, frugality and foresight invent something new to satisfy the wants of mankind or invest his savings or capital in that which will make practical the invention of another person.

To place industry in the hands of the greater number of those having the least skill would stifle growth. The unenterprising are usually jealous of the skillful, and the enterprising are always anxious to excell. The majority of the unenterprising would, under the three systems named, appropriate the rewards of the skillful to themselves, and the enterprising, robbed of the large rewards of individual achievement, would lose the motive for incentive. With that gone the world would become stagnant, for while industries already started might be taken over and owned and operated in common the formation of new enterprises would be prevented; it is only by ambition for large reward on the part of the individual that they do start.

Nothing has ever been achieved by all men in common. Every step forward in history has been accomplished by the individual. The mind of the human working upon any problem has solved it. Leadership is an expression of personal genius. In battle it is the mind of the general that controls and he wins with the help of his soldiers. They cannot share their glory in common; the private

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soldier may distinguish himself and become a general; to say that all shall direct and receive a similar reward is foolish. In the eighth century in Tibet, King Muni Tsan-po being determined to raise (or raze) all his subjects to the same level, decreed that there should be no distinction between the rich and poor, humble and great. He compelled the wealthy to share their riches with the indigent and helpless and make them their equals in respect of all the conditions and comforts of life. He repeated this experiment three times; but at each venture he found that all returned to their former condition, with the exception that the rich became still richer and the poor even poorer.

When Karl Marx attempted to prove that the guiding force of history is economic determinism he took another way of saying that economic conditions are the underlying bases of social, industrial, political and military action. But "it is the mind that makes the man and our vigor is in our immortal soul." With strength of blood to back mentality, the men of initiative, ability and personality have overcome or led others to overcome old economic conditions and have made new ones. Industry or anything else in the hands of the mediocre many is repugnant to the spirit of this land which of all others has progressed most by means of the intrepid spirits. Plagues, scarcity of crops and prevalent poverty have often affected the course of history, just as conditions which made for health, abundance of food and wealth have done so in an opposite direction; but man's life on the planet has

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been most affected by his thought, and that has been determined by that individual genius which has thriven alike in spare and full times.

Humanity in a physical sense has remained about the same throughout the historic ages, modifying to the greatest degree the economic circumstances surrounding him when transfused. He has never been long subject to these economic circumstances unless he has resigned his initiative to mediocrity and ignorance, as in the Middle Ages, and he has progressed most when he has by dint of ably directed energy so determined conditions as to leave room for originality.

Attempts have been made to prove to the people at a time after the greatest industrial advance in the history of the world that some of the men who have become very wealthy in that advance have made their gains by methods that have sought to stifle competition, and therefore to do away with the means by which they accomplished the results attained. These attempts have brought about a more critical opinion and amendments to the laws calculated to prevent monopoly and injustice; but they have also, along with the tendency to diminish the rights of the individual in other ways, sought to secure too strict governmental methods for prying into the citizen's private affairs. At public hearings conducted with acrimony by legislative inquisitors, or manipulated so as to place at a disadvantage those who have in order to curry favor with those who have not, has been seen a willingness to go too far in the direction of state super-

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vision of all business and actually menace that liberty of work and achievement which has been held so dear in America and has helped to make the nation so great. Constantly recurring investigations of matters which have been thoroughly discussed and remedied worries and harasses industry and militates against the free exercise of business initiative and independence.

The same tendency toward deprivation by the majority of the rights of the minority is seen in the hesitancy for so long a period in so extending the ballot to women as to give them an equal part in truly representative government. In some states they already have the right of the suffrage, and so far have used it with more enthusiasm and devotion to civic duty than the men; but for the rest it has been found necessary to resort to federal amendment. There is no just reason why they should not have the vote universally, subject only to the same restrictions as imposed upon men. Women have intelligence, therefore they think and form judgments. Men have only to remind themselves of their own mothers and sisters and wives to bear witness to that fact.

The contention that women, when granted the franchise, would become less wives and mothers thereby is as much as to say that when men take two minutes of a year to mark a ballot they are on that account less husbands and fathers the remainder of the time. It is quite as ludicrous to contend that the female sex is less conservative than

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the male, and that the stability of our institutions would be unsafe in their hands. Indeed, the conservative guardian of many a man's purse is his helpmeet who attends to the practical details of his life while he is away at his labor. She has at least as much time for thought upon local and national problems, is even more interested in and sympathetic toward the well being of the children, and has a way of looking at things, which, added to that of the men, is as essential to the stability of the state as to that of the home. And with so many more women now engaged in the vocations of active life as the result of the great war and with income and property to defend, they should have an equal voice in the government. To deny mature intelligence of either sex the right of free expression at the ballot is subversive of liberty.

Through an attempt to establish a tyranny of the majority in the Southern states, the negro has been deprived of the rights vouchsafed to him by the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The result of that policy has been demonstrated in the burning at the stake when only suspected of rape, and the hatreds and injustices engendered have been shown in such a case as that of Leo Frank, the Jew, who was hung up, cut down and his dead face stamped upon by a prejudice crazed mob. In the South the negro has few rights anyone is bound to respect. 235 were lynched in 1917. In many places he is now compelled to walk in the street when a

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white person passes by on the sidewalk. When a member of the staff of the New Orleans *Picayune* years ago, I was wont to listen to serious arguments between my associates on the question of whether the negro is a human being or a lower animal.

It is true that after the shackles of slavery were removed the negroes, incited by Northern carpet baggers, perpetrated outrages of government in the Southern states which are still felt in the debts incurred. But in the fifty years that have intervened the blacks have had more opportunities than they formerly had, and should be given equal rights under the law at the ballot, though perhaps their common sense would influence them to refrain from attempting to hold office for a time. The English have in the West Indies given the world a lesson in just treatment of the negro which this land would do well to emulate.

The subversion of the fundamental rights of the blacks is harmful to the whites themselves in making them tyrannical and unjust, and causes this government of free men to appear hypocritical in guaranteeing rights without reference to race, color or previous condition of servitude, after four years of war to make possible those guarantees, and then denying them for the sole reason of race, color and previous condition of servitude. Liberty is for the human race as a whole and should be as wide as the earth. It cannot be denied without reacting upon those who deny it. Such liberty does not include social equality or miscegenation, for that is

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an individual matter, but the right of equal protection under the laws and of free expression at the ballot should be withheld from none.

Even war for the sake of democracy should not have been made to serve the purpose of taking from the individual that liberty of thought and action which is indispensable to real equality. So long as men are not traitors to the government by any deed which would give actual aid to the enemy, they should have been allowed the full freedom of speech guaranteed by the Constitution. Particularly is this so of the press, the palladium of the public welfare, which, if silenced by any systematic attempt of well meaning officials to arrogate to themselves authority, would make possible in this land a dogmatic and narrow rule. As Socrates long ago said, "Many a man with justice and right on his lips commits injustice and wrong, but no doer of right ever was a misdoer or could possibly be."

An effort was made after the opening of the conflict with Germany to suppress all criticism of the government in its conduct of the war. This was largely a result of the dangerous view that the President should be supported in a crisis no matter what he might do, so long as he had decided it to be to the best interests of the country to do it; not that what he did was not exactly right, but that Congress was made in the Constitution to be a useful and intelligent check upon any arbitrary or ill considered act of the Chief Executive. For that reason it was given control of the purse and the

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right of impeachment. Greater than the President, in every instance a man of distinction of character; the Presidency, the highest office in the world; the American flag, symbol of liberty; and the United States, with a wonderful destiny, are the Lord Eternal and His justice and righteousness. When our nation has crumpled into the dust of the ages and its very memory has passed away forever, His attributes will still prevail.

And so, if this country of ours would prosper and succeed, it must do what every other state and individual must in order to permanently enjoy happiness; it must treat all with fairness. If it does not, it will find that "the judgments of the Lord are just and righteous altogether," and that the injustice we mete out to others will at some future time come back to us in the same measure. If we establish any portion of the procedure of a tyranny within our borders, it will be none the less tyrannical and undemocratic if done in the name of liberty and democracy. Our actions as a nation should be measured solely by the standard of justice and right. We should abide by the spirit of the words of the Caliph Omar: "By Allah! he that is weakest among you shall be in my sight the strongest until I have vindicated for him his rights; but he that is strongest will I treat as the weakest until he complies with the laws."

In order that the utmost liberties of every citizen may be respected, a wise tolerance should be exercised toward those millions of foreign extraction

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which from the beginning of the European conflict in 1914 were more or less sympathetic toward Germany in its contest with the allies of that time, and after our entrance into the struggle in April, 1917 gave every evidence by expression and active participation on our side that they were in no sense pro German but thoroughly pro American. When in history before this period did a people, made up of all races and divided in sentiment because of their respective motherlands being engaged in a mighty conflict, with such little disturbance and with such great enthusiasm turn as a unit from peace to war? Was there ever a more convincing proof of the stability of republican institutions?

As misjudged as the senseless utterances of a few hot heads and as deserving of the utmost rigors of the law as any traitors may have been, the old German-American and Irish-American social and benefit organizations had been called into existence for the reason that the folk of German descent, like their brethren the French-Americans and the Italian-Americans, loved to cherish the memory of their fatherland, the land of Luther and Frederick the Great and Bismarck, the land of song and beer and the Rhine; because those of Irish blood had remained loyal in their memory to the Emerald Isle, the "auld sod," the home of their ancestors, which they and their fathers had left to find opportunity in a free land.

Neither the Germans nor the Irish had reason to be ashamed of the memory of their fathers, and they felt that there was no wrong in their organi-

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zations to cherish that memory. Certainly they were loyal only to the memory. No nationalities have contributed so much in population and allegiance to the United States as these. In the Civil War there were engaged on the side of the North and against slavery and disunion 250,000 Germans and 150,000 Irishmen. No peoples so quickly sought naturalization. None became true Americans more rapidly. It became increasingly difficult for naturalized Germans to influence their children to learn the German language. In the early recruiting in Chicago after relations had been severed with Germany the largest number of volunteers were of German descent.

However, statistics more clearly reveal facts which show how important the loyal German-Americans and Irish-Americans have been to the United States. According to the last Census there were in 1910 in this country 13,515,886 foreign born. Of these Germany contributed 2,501,333, or 18.5 per cent; Austria-Hungary, 1,569,973, or 12.8 per cent; and Ireland, 1,352,251, or 10 per cent; together 41.3 per cent. Of the 32,243,282 people of foreign white stock in the United States in 1910—they or either parent born in a foreign land—25.1 per cent. were German, 14 per cent. were Irish, 6 per cent. were Austrian and 2 per cent. were Hungarian, a total of 47 per cent.

The conclusion that of the total population of the country at the present time much more than a majority is of German, Irish, Austrian and Hungarian descent, near or remote, may be gathered

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from the fact that the Germans and Irish alone made up 28.5 per cent. of the foreign born population in 1910; 40.8 per cent. in 1900; 50.3 per cent. in 1890; 57.2 per cent. in 1880; 64.7 per cent. in 1870, and 70 per cent. in 1860. As late as 1910, after fifty years of immigration and assimilation, there were 8,282,618 white persons in the United States having Germany as their land of direct origin or who had at least one parent with it as the place of birth.

At the same time there were 4,504,360 persons having Ireland as their land of nativity or who had at least one parent born there, 2,001,559 Austrians of like condition, and 700,227 of Hungarian stock. In that year there were 2,752,675 (mostly Jews) who or at least one parent of whom hailed from Russia, 2,332,442 from England, 659,663 from Scotland, 2,098,360 from Italy, and 292,389 from France.

The preponderance of German and Irish immigration becomes even more evident when it is considered that to the foreign born population Germany contributed 30.5 per cent. in 1860; 30.4 per cent. in 1870; 29.4 per cent. in 1880; 30.1 per cent. in 1890; 27.2 per cent. in 1900, and 18.5 per cent. in 1910; England contributed 10.4 per cent. in 1860; 10 per cent. in 1870; 9.9 per cent. in 1880; 9.8 per cent. in 1890; 8.1 per cent. in 1900, and 6.5 per cent. in 1910; Scotland contributed 2.6 per cent. in 1860; 2.5 per cent. in 1870; 2.5 per cent. in 1880; 2.6 per cent. in 1890; 2.3 per cent. in 1900, and 1.9 per cent. in 1910; Ireland contributed 38.5 per cent.

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in 1860; 33.3 per cent. in 1870; 27.8 per cent. in 1880; 20.2 per cent. in 1890; 15.6 per cent. in 1900, and 10 per cent. in 1910: Italy contributed 0.3 per cent. in 1860; 0.3 per cent. in 1870; 0.7 per cent. in 1880; 2 per cent. in 1890; 4.7 per cent. in 1900, and 9.9 per cent. in 1910: France contributed 2.6 per cent. in 1860; 2.1 per cent. in 1870; 1.6 per cent. in 1880; 1.2 per cent. in 1890; 1 per cent. in 1900, and 0.9 per cent. in 1910: Russia and Finland contributed 0.1 per cent. in 1860; 0.1 per cent. in 1870; 0.5 per cent. in 1880; 2 per cent. in 1890; 6.2 per cent. in 1900, and 12.8 per cent. (mostly Jews) in 1910.

And yet the peoples that have given so much of the blood of the nation throughout sixty years were ridiculed by those who had given comparatively little, or were willing to be unjust toward a very large body of the people having the utmost loyalty to the United States. When it is reckoned that in 1850 the total population was but 23,191,876; that of this number 3,628,808 were negroes; that in 1790 the number of inhabitants was 3,929,214; and that prior to 1850, throughout the entire national, confederation and colonial periods, there was a very considerable influx of Swedish, Norwegian, French, Dutch, Bavarian and Saxon, as well as British blood, it must be accepted as a truth that this country does not owe special obligation to any particular race for its foundation in population, and that the fullest protection, liberty and tolerance of speech and thought should be accorded to all who have proven their unqualified loyalty by

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giving their utmost of blood, treasure and hope to the flag.

To oppress these German, Austrian and Hungarian citizens and treat them as though recently enemies merely because born in lands at one time at war with the United States, or children of those born in those countries, and especially to impugn their patriotism or deny them equality of expression and action is un-American and a menace to the liberties extended to them when they were welcomed to our shores.

No free government can arouse the full enthusiasm of its people which does not vouchsafe to each citizen those inalienable rights which it in its fundamental law promised to him, which does not protect him in the fruits of his toil and genius, permit him the free exercise of thought and action so long as they do not interfere with the safety or liberty of any other man, ensure him or her equal participation in the choice of those who are to represent him or her in political affairs, provide impartial justice and order under the laws, and prevent classes from arising within the state to menace the individual rights of any person. The evils which menace ours are of a minor and temporary nature and will gradually disappear through public education and the ballot. He who has not faith in America views its free institutions, its broadening life and its marvelous possibilities from an ant hill instead of a mountain.

CHAPTER VIII

ONE LAW FOR THE UNION

"One danger to the country is the extreme radical who demands the millenium here and now and who is very intolerant of the views of others who may differ from him as to ways and means. The coequal danger is that of reactionaireism. The path of America's true progress lies through the middle ground of a wise and sound liberalism."—Philander C. Knox.

THE late war has wrought great changes in the thought of the country concerning the method of the government of the United States in the utilization of all of its powers and forces to bring about the one single aim of its participation in the conflict—the destruction of the German military power—and in no other way does this change so manifest itself as in the attitude of the people toward the idea of unification of political machinery.

It must at once become apparent to the most casual observer that forty-eight separate state legal and administrative systems within one nation are incongruous, make a hodge-podge of detailed statutes to obey, provide extraordinary opportunity for lawyers, and cause enormous and unnecessary expense to the taxpayers. So flagrant is this weakness that corporations and persons doing an interstate business must be constantly mindful of con-

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flicting regulations. And with the different states constantly making additional laws commercial men find it increasingly difficult to keep up with the changes that are made.

Penalties vary greatly in most of the commonwealths. Laws governing the principal activities of men, women and children in all the relations of life are so diverse as to be ludicrous. Divorce is exceedingly difficult in several states and decidedly easy in others. Regulations in regard to legitimacy of birth, the age of consent, marriage, parent and child, estates, property, contract, insurance and stock companies are as diverse as the number of the separate political entities of the Union. Many of the commonwealths maintain their own bureaus for the investigation of corporations and insurance, and some for scrutinizing every sort of business, as in California. Necessarily the enforcement of these requires heavy burdens upon property and individuals subject to tax.

In the early history of the government of the United States the important cities and commonwealths were widely separated by the difficulty of transportation from one to the other. Two days were required to travel from New York to Albany and a week from Baltimore to Boston. The packet post was slow in moving and a month was needed to get news in New England of important happenings in Kentucky. The Confederation had proven a dismal failure, after a six years' trial of the articles binding it together, because it provided no means of overcoming the jealousies of the states

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toward the federal government and each other. The Constitution then enacted nicely adjusted the powers of the national and state governments in enumerated particulars, but left open the question of whether a separate commonwealth might secede from the Union. That issue was decided at Appomatox after four years of conflict. It was then determined that the federal powers should be paramount. But in the basic instrument of the government of the United States the way had already been left open for the extension of the federal jurisdiction over all in matters pertaining to all.

National authority had been enumerated in particulars which would make a de facto nation, as in laying and collecting taxes, borrowing money on its own credit, establishing rules of naturalization and bankruptcy, coining money, founding post-offices and post roads, protecting authors and inventors, raising and supporting an army and a navy, punishing felonies and piracies on the high seas, declaring war and constituting federal tribunals of justice. Even more general power in the hands of the nation was implied in the stipulation that Congress should regulate commerce with foreign countries and among the several states, provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States and "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof."

As all the powers other than those enumerated

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were implied to be vested in the nation, and as the enumerated denial of powers to the states was solely such as to prevent interference with the national authority, and as no reserved powers were placed in the hands of the states, it must be conceded that it was the purpose of the framers of the original document that the federal government should have the right to enact general laws, not merely for the protection of its national existence, but in all matters where they should be generally applicable to the people as a whole.

Further evidence that the denial of powers to the states was not intended merely as a means of protecting the integrity of any federal powers whatever, is to be found in the provision that no state should pass any law impairing the obligation of contract. That the federal government, so far as the original and unamended document is concerned, was exceedingly chary of its powers is demonstrated by the stipulation in the Constitution that no state should without the consent of Congress lay any imposts or duties on imports, except such as might be necessary for executing its inspection laws, that the net produce of all duties and imposts so laid should be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and that, even then, such laws should be subject to the revision and control of Congress.

This was the Constitution as adopted by the fathers of the Republic, September 17, 1787. Writing in the *New York Packet* of January 25, 1788, to offset bickerings between the states that

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had so recently been colonies, Madison says: "If, in a word, the Union be essential to the happiness of the people of America, is it not preposterous to urge as an objection to a government, without which the objects of the Union cannot be obtained, that such a government may derogate from the importance of the governments of the individual states? Was, then, the American Revolution effected, was the American Confederacy formed, was the precious blood of thousands spilt, and the hard-earned substance of millions lavished, not that the people of America should enjoy peace, liberty and safety, but that the government of the individual states, that particular municipal establishments, might enjoy a certain extent of power, and be arrayed with certain dignities and attributes of sovereignty?

"We have heard of the impious doctrine in the Old World that the people were made for kings, not kings for the people. Is the same doctrine to be revived in the New, in another shape—that the solid happiness of the people is to be sacrificed to the views of political institutions of another form? It is too early for politicians to presume on our forgetting that the public good, the real welfare of the great body of the people, is the supreme object to be pursued; and that no form of government whatever has any other value than as it may be fitted for the attainment of this object. Were the plan of the convention adverse to the public, my voice would be, Reject the plan. Were the Union itself inconsistent with the public happiness, it would be, Abolish the Union. In like manner, as

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far as the sovereignty of the states cannot be reconciled to the happiness of the people, the voice of every good citizen must be, Let the former be sacrificed to the latter."

In spite of this logical reasoning, the jealous states insisted upon the tenth amendment to the Constitution, which was adopted by Congress September 25, 1789, providing that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." The presumption of preponderance of power was thereby diametrically changed from the federal to the state governments, and it was not until the decisions of the Supreme Court, the Civil War and the exigencies of modern commerce and industry that the nation gradually waived aside much of the prepondering authority of the commonwealths constituting the Union.

Had the states themselves, acting in concert, formed a federation, right would have been with them; but the people were the authority, they alone formed the new and greater government. "*We the people* of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." These same people have the right, if they will, to so construe the tenth amendment as to take advantage of the alternative, "or to the

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people." How shall "the people" express themselves if not through their institutions? And are not their representatives in the federal House and Senate, elected by their direct vote, a part of those institutions? Indeed, are not "the people," as stated in the preamble and the tenth amendment, not meant to designate the people of the entire nation thus constituted, and not of a single state or even a federation of states? Through their representatives they may make general laws applicable to them all and for their benefit as a whole. They may do so under a proper construction of the tenth amendment. Certainly they may do so by its repeal.

Assuming that the federal government has the absolute power to legislate for the entire people upon subjects which concern them all alike, and beyond such powers merely as help to maintain itself, what rights should it take unto itself which it has not yet exercised, and what powers should it subtract from the states which they now exert? It should take all authority from the separate commonwealths except the police power, carrying out in detail the suffrage, and such stated powers as are conferred in the original Constitution. The national government has the right and should arrogate to itself the function of making the common and statute law uniform throughout the United States. It may be contended that the Supreme Court has construed the Constitution differently and to mean that the federal authority in general matters outside of those specifically enumerated

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shall apply only to interstate relations, but if the court did so it went beyond the wording of the basic instrument itself and upheld the tenth amendment. Ecclesiastical courts for centuries contrued and misconstrued the Gospels, but today such authority as those Gospels exert over the minds of men rests within their terminology alone.

Congress should enact a uniform divorce law along lines similar to that of the Code Napoleon, which gave as causes adultery, extreme cruelty, perpetration of a felony, malicious and willful desertion and mutual consent. Recognizing marriage to be a contract, the code sought to make its abrogation subject to the same mutuality with which it had been entered into. It was thought that the wife would not consent to resign legal claim to her husband, or vice versa, unless they had agreed upon substantial justice between them and for their children, if any. As there are said to have been few cases where one of the principals did not object, the provision proved a conservator of marriage instead of a loosener of its ties; yet it rendered justice where both agreed to disagree. Morality is not enhanced by preventing a man and woman from remedying a fundamental mistake.

The national government should also prevent child labor in the remotest locality, under heavy penalties, and should compel every youth and maiden, white or black, to complete a free grammar school education. It should enact a uniform corporation law and another covering every subject of commerce. Each act which comes within legal

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phases and is outside of the police power of the states should be legislated upon by Congress. This implies a new code of law, simple, readable by all, applicable in every state and territory. It does not mean the calling of a constitutional convention, for the reason that the tenth amendment may be construed differently or repealed. In fact the original fundamental document has called for a sacrifice of the practice of the states for more than a century. The result has not been attained heretofore and there has not been a great demand, though an obvious need, for it because of the distractions and distrusting of localities.

The police power of the states may be said to comprise all local legal regulation and restraint. It has been defined as the right of the state or state functionary to prescribe regulations for the good order, peace, health, protection, comfort, convenience and morals of the community which do not encroach on a like power vested in Congress by the federal constitution or which do not violate any of the provisions of the organic law.¹ It has been stated to include education.² Specifically, it includes the regulation of the conditions of the distribution and sale of food, the liquor traffic, the sale of tobacco and drugs, the manufacture and handling of inflammable articles, fire prevention, sickness and epidemics, hospitals, drainage, water supply, bodies and cemeteries, garbage and waste, gambling, prostitution, immoral literature, enter-

¹ Chambers vs. Greencastle, 138 Ind., 339, 351. ² Barbier vs. Connolly, 113 U. S., 27.

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tainment and amusement, building regulations, smoke and dust, protection of the public through signs and warnings, paving, dockage, pawn brokers, peddlers, licensing of physicians and dentists, birth, marriage and death records, local education, billboards, blasting, lighting, insane persons, sabbath observance, extermination of noxious animals, collection of debt, prevention and detection of crime, public meetings, hunting of game, nuisances, and peace and order generally.

If the authority of the several states were limited by the repeal of the tenth amendment to the constitution to this exercise of the police power, a new meaning, not resting upon a forced construction of that document, would be given to the words of Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *McCullough vs Maryland*: "A constitution, to contain an accurate detail of all the subdivisions of which its great powers will admit, and of all the means by which they may be carried into execution, would partake of the complexity of a legal code, and would scarcely be embraced by the human mind. The government which has a right to do an act, and has imposed on it the duty of performing that act, must, according to the dictates of reason, be allowed to select the means; and those who contend that it may not select any appropriate means, that one particular mode of effecting the object is excepted, take upon themselves the burden of establishing the exception. Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted

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to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the spirit and letter of the constitution, are constitutional.”

Now that the American people are being solidified more and more and the distinctions of race are passing away, especially as the result of participation in the war against Germany, and now that New York and San Francisco are one by telephone and telegraph and all parts of the country are otherwise accessible to each other, they require a body of easily understood and universally applicable law, just alike to rich and poor, conserving the interests and independence of capital and labor, white and black, alien, naturalized and native, with proper ease and celerity of judicial procedure. The time for a great law giver is at hand, and that law giver is the Congress of the sovereign people of the United States. This country does not need an individual law giver, or vague generalities placed upon the statute books and called law, but a body of legal provisions which will give specific justice to every man, woman and child. Federal legislation for the war is a proper introduction to this larger legal activity of the national government.

In order that the utmost efficiency, the lowest cost compatible with conditions, and good wages may be maintained, it is essential to the best interests of the general public, holders of stocks and bonds, and the employees of the great public utilities that those agencies of communication be regulated rather than owned by the federal government.

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The entrance of the country into the world war and the seizure by the government of many national utilities early developed an opinion quite favorable to their permanent national ownership, and again agitated the question of the taking over by municipalities of their gas and electric lighting plants. The acquirement by the nation of the railroads was accepted gladly in many minds as a new departure which might lead to the acquisition of the coal mines, oil fields and water power, so that the sources of vast wealth to be made out of such public service might remain with the people.

But the principal of the disadvantages of government ownership soon became apparent. Service competition between parallel railroad lines was stifled, with resultant diminution of the old *esprit du corps* and the desire to simultaneously get new business and please the traveling public. Conveniences were diminished while rates were greatly increased. Many thousands of investors in these properties became alarmed at the prospect of ultimately losing a stable income. It began to be seen that the enterprising spirit which had done so much to make the industrial and commercial as well as the political America of our day possible might be lost in the taking over permanently for peace times of such utilities, because of carelessness of employees, inertia of economic movement, dullness of trade which had been used to the stimulus of the development of new localities by the established but privately controlled means of public communi-

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cation, and lack of appreciation of individual requirements.

It may be contended that government ownership would remove the chief menace of future concentration of capital, but it is likewise true that the people of the country are too apt to idealize a condition of more direct ownership by themselves, thinking it would abate evils of inertia to which human nature is subject when not in competition. Postal, telegraph and telephone communication are simple as compared to railroad control. Under the policy of regulation through government commissions of experts, appointed for the purpose, however, all the benefits of government control are maintained without any of the disadvantages, and the vast number of holders of railway stocks and bonds are permitted to participate in the ownership.

It may be urged by the superficial that the ownership by the government of all public utilities, as different as it is from common control by those engaged in a given industry, would mean the gradual taking over of all the means of production and distribution, and that when this had been accomplished there would no longer be any labor as such engaged in any industry outside of the government; that the rate of wages, high or low, would then be regulated by Congress, as in the case of civil and military employees at the present time; that crime would disappear with the abolition of poverty; that men and women would participate in toil on a like footing; that temperance and chastity would be-

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come well nigh universal with greater self-respect; that the ideal of socialism would be the ultimate result by other means.

Such a suggestion presupposes a revolution in the facts of human life which is hardly to be expected merely in order to satisfy this idealism. Government ownership by those agencies of production and distribution which do not fall within the classification of public utilities would hardly be tolerated by a people intent upon the maintenance of their individuality and independence. And direct ownership of such agencies of commerce as the railroads would hardly be more agreeable to the electorate as a whole, which has a vital interest in keeping up cheap and efficient travel, or to labor, the condition of which must rise or fall in the long run concomitantly with the general prosperity. But closer federal control over a unified and nationalized railway system is required. To state in the Clayton law, enacted by Congress, that labor is not a commodity does not make it less subject to the insistent demands of political economy. If railway fares are increased by the government constantly in order to pay higher wages than the condition of the road permits, the purchasing power of such wages will be decreased thereby because of an additional cost of marketing production generally.

As vast and multifarious as has been the problem of adequately preparing for victory in the war with Germany, that of meeting the conditions to follow

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the conflict has been even more complex. Millions of men have returned from the front and entered into competition with each other. Other millions which have been engaged exclusively in war production have been compelled to find other avenues for their energies. It has been found difficult to maintain rates of wages made abnormally high by scarcity of labor. Because of the high prices resulting from inflation and the decreased purchasing power of the dollar of the laborer, he found it difficult to return to the low wages paid in certain occupations before the conflict began. For such a problem there is one solution which will have more efficacy than any other. That lies in a protective tariff high enough to cover the difference between the cost of production here and abroad.

The energies of the United States, stimulated by war, are turned to production for a greater domestic and foreign trade, and American initiative is finding the means of securing the market for it; but the standard of living and wages in the United States, as shown by our entire economic history in times of peace since the Civil War, can be maintained only by tariffs on foreign made goods which are produced where wages are lower and living is cheaper. Protection of this sort is all that the term implies. It not merely nurses and foment the growth of infant industries, but maintains giant commercial enterprises which are different merely in the degree of their capacity to employ and produce.

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The war has made labor more respected. In order that all working men and women may enjoy the full benefits of the new life about them now that liberty has been preserved, there should be a working day of eight hours and perhaps ultimately of seven hours for all, and a right on the part of every one to enjoy the sabbath. In many offices in the large cities the shorter hours are already observed, employees reporting for work at 9 A.M. and quitting at 5 P.M., with an hour for luncheon between. This is becoming quite as practicable as eight hours. With industry developed to higher efficiency than is possible where a few unions attempt to regulate the speed to the slowest and, as in a department store, where the wages are so low as to make effort irksome, as much would be accomplished in the shorter time.

If this seems premature, it should be called to mind that we are living in the twentieth century and that, in accordance with its spirit, men must have a larger reward for and more enjoyment of their toil. The custom of working frail women twelve hours daily in a hospital because they are nurses and it is an eleemosynary institution is not less hard on them than on those employed in factories. Nor is the employment of women ten hours on their feet each day as saleswomen, or little children on farms and in sweatshops, less enslaving if done in the name of maximum of output.

Furthermore, each person under the sun should have the benefit of a Sunday free from care. If it be necessary for the particular business to be con-

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ducted on the sabbath, every employee should have another day out of the seven for rest instead. In the scriptures it is impressed upon man that he shall have that much time for rest; and the inference is that it does not make the slightest difference whether Saturday, Sunday or Thursday shall be called the sabbath so long as on one day out of the seven he shall be allowed to leave whatever task he may be performing and find amusement or cultivation or repose; though it is more convenient that all enjoy the sabbath on the day generally adopted throughout Christendom. The seven-hour day may not come immediately, due to the slow adjustment of the new spirit to the mechanism of industry, but one day of rest out of seven practically is and should by law be within the reach of all.

Another nationally applicable principle is that the immigrant who enters the borders of the United States should be capable of assimilation with the Caucasian race. A higher standard of living prevails here than in oriental countries and it should be upheld. Japanese, Chinese and Hindoos should be prevented from immigration, except as duly accredited students. If allowed to come in any appreciable numbers, they would destroy the dignity and independence of American labor. All foreigners, European or otherwise, especially since the war has ended, should be prevented from entering our ports if diseased or permanently injured. But the comparatively recent requirement by Congress of an educational qualification from all immigrants in

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order to restrict their immigration is contrary to the spirit of American institutions.

The movement inaugurated chiefly at the behest of the labor organizations was unfair, for the reason that the great majority of our fathers could sign their names with only a mark when they landed. Character is more important than ability to read and write. The latter is soon acquired in order to meet the necessities of life in this free land. The movement was also directed against the immense immigration from the Catholic countries of Southern Europe just before the great conflict began. This, too, is unreasonable, for Catholics make as good citizens as any other element in the community. The country needs the South European peoples, and will be at a disadvantage if it is lacking in its labor in the new era. For a century and more the practical peoples of Northern Europe furnished the backbone of America. Now should come the imaginative peoples. The two forces amalgamated will make a grander and greater nation in the future.

As free schools and a free state are synonymous, it follows that it is to the best interests of the people of the United States that their children, the citizens of the future, be taught in such schools. No institution, religious or otherwise, should place its own interests above those of the commonwealth as a whole by the establishment of a separate system of education. Under the guise of tolerance this free nation should not go so far as to permit a very

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large body of its people to lose the benefits of unprejudiced instruction and fair incentive in the pursuit of knowledge, more than it permitted the Mormon church to practice what the latter claimed to be the God-given right of polygamy. A wise tolerance, indeed, is to compel all to receive the advantage of non-sectarian schooling, just as under our legal system the fundamental liberties of each citizen must be respected.

As the public schools of the country are free and are supported by the taxpayers as a whole, the Roman Catholic Church, which in 1916 educated 1,500,000 pupils in parochial institutions, as worthy and decidedly intelligent as its instruction is, should lean more to the common system of which its interest should be and is a part, as has always been its allegiance otherwise. It cannot with reason be contended that the moral and religious training provided by the Roman church in its schools is superior and therefore a necessity; for the kingdom of God is universal and no single organization, creed or religion has a monopoly of His mercy, grace or wisdom. What the children of the country need to be taught in the moral field is love of God and simple righteousness, in accordance with the ideals of the age, and such teaching is daily imparted, by example or directly, by the six hundred thousand teachers in the free schools throughout the land.

Seven millions of Methodists and six millions of Baptists are content with the system of popular and unbiased instruction provided by the people

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through their government, as are all other Protestant denominations, and the two millions of Jews in the country. Why should not the Roman Catholics also be so satisfied? If the Socialists, making the absurd contention that this is a capitalist-ridden land, sought to establish schools of their own so as to teach their children in harmony with their views, would the Roman Catholics be favorable to them? If not, why should the citizens as a whole be favorable to the maintenance, especially when taxed for the purpose, of any particularist system of education in a nation where all men are free? In November, 1917, the State of Massachusetts decided by a large majority to do so no longer.

The Constitution guarantees tolerance to all religions, but is silent upon the question of whether any church, Catholic or Protestant, shall educate its citizens apart from the general system to suit its own ends. However, the spirit of the free school institution, from its inception three hundred years ago until now, is opposed to such distinction.

It should be unnecessary to say that I am not opposed to the parochial school system because it is Catholic. No person who has known the good priest and sister of charity, and recognized the fact that the Roman Catholic Church is the church of the poor, as I have, can deny that it is doing an incalculably great good. Nor can it be said that its communicants are not so public-spirited as those of other denominations. But the province of any church is outside the domain of non-sectarian education, which is meant to impart established knowl-

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edge; religion is a matter of individual belief and opinion; principles of right conduct are tactitly agreed upon by all and are taught in the free schools. Roman Catholics, particularly the Irish, who have never been outdone in love of this land, should be willing to share in the common lot of the great republic which provides the best school system the world affords.

Is it to be doubted that with a simple and universally applicable code of civil and criminal law throughout the United States and its possessions that conditions would be inestimably bettered? The reforms suggested as possible under such a code are but a small portion of those which might be brought about within a generation. This nation should be a correct model for an entire world to follow in a world federation, and to make it so it must not hesitate to see itself as it is. As Lloyd George remarked, "A nation which is not virile enough to hear the truth about itself is not a first class power."

CHAPTER IX

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"A nation, like a man, hides from itself the contemplation of its final day. It frames laws and constitutions under the delusion that they will last, forgetting that the condition of life is change. Very able modern statesmen consider it to be the grand object of their art to keep things as they are, or rather as they were. But the human race is not at rest; and bands which for a moment, it may be, are restrained, break all the more violently the longer they hold. No man can stop the march of destiny."—Draper.

THROUGH the force of circumstances, in order that genuine civilization and order and liberty may be promoted, it is more than possible that the United States will be forced to exercise on this continent a greater amount of authority than in the past and perhaps ultimately to take over the work of enabling all the territory from Behring Strait to the Panama Canal to enjoy the benefits of its governmental ideal.

Out of the upheaval precipitated by our entrance into the world war against Germany are evolving conditions, including the continuance of a numerous citizen army, which are awakening the American people to a realization of a destiny to maintain peace and development near at home and to expand into new fields of endeavor. The nation no longer

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shudders at carnage and give and take. It seeks even greater progress. The Philippines and Porto Rico, seized by armed intervention from Spain, and Hawaii and Alaska have accustomed us to the idea of retaining sovereignty over other lands. America is awakening from the drowsiness caused by much wealth, and as the result of stress and privation is feeling a vigor which demands that it ever move extensively achieve.

While outward events have much to do with this, the principal causes lie within. Until late in the nineties the easily tilled and rich soil of the present territory of the country had not been taken up. Homesteads were to be had for the asking from a generous and far-sighted government. Those farmers who had found difficult the earning of an increment from their holdings in the states along the Atlantic seaboard north of Maryland sold them and journeyed westward to gain a fresh start, in many cases leaving beyond them exhausted soil. Irrigation and drainage opened to cultivation still further areas which were soon taken by such farmers and by immigrants. Then the South found new and more intensive agricultural and industrial life. And finally the demand for land became such that there was a return to the abandoned farms of New England.

Meanwhile population had been increasing until it aggregated an hundred millions. These inhabitants had become more and more representatively American, intermarrying and moulding into one people. Stimulated by the pressure of

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life in the more thickly settled regions, the American spirit was thus stimulated to greater expansion, with the result that 300,000 who had been citizens of the United States emigrated to and found new opportunity in Canada. Because of the imperative economic causes at the basis of this movement, they are still answering the call of the venturesome and hazardous to strange lands. Across the southern border, in Mexico, the same spirit evinced itself, though not to equal measure, in advancement into the rubber plantations and mining country. Disturbances there and a great war temporarily halted this new manifestation of the century-long trek of the American pioneer into the wilderness, but the desire was only heightened by the barrier.

Pulsating with life and determined to carry along with them the civilization they express, the American people should find a way to fulfill that natural destiny which was in the mind of Seward when he said in the Senate in 1851 that the nation should extend its boundaries to continental limits. It is inconceivable that they should remain standing still. No people in the past has done so. If they would, they cannot stifle the energy that urges them on to do the work for which they have been fitting themselves for centuries.

It is now the dawn of their greatest day, and they must take advantage of that incentive which the root feels when it bursts forth into grass and flowers, which the youth of all lands have experienced when they left the old hearth and haunts to seek new achievement and bring honor to the mother

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who bore them, which the men of Macedon were animated by when they advanced throughout Greece and to a greater Hellas, which inspired the ancient Romans when they expanded over the peninsula and then permanently influenced the world, which forged England, Scotland and Wales into the British state and empire, which united the component parts of France into such a strong nationality as gave the Revolution and Napoleon.

Because they have intention of gaining permanent power and territory in neither Europe, Africa, South America nor Asia, they should not be opposed to spreading out in those lands nearest at hand in Canada, vaster in area than the entire United States, and in a turbulent little country thrice the size of the Lone Star State which is as alluring to the eye and the senses as it was to the men of Cortez when they first gazed upon it four hundred years ago.

If the aggressive American people merely sought to conquer rich and progressive lands and add them to those they already possess, they would be guilty of the covetous intention of expropriating to themselves the wealth of their neighbors. But closer relations with Canada would come about only through the good will and comradry engendered by American and Canadian sacrifice in a common cause. This should be augmented by the utmost reciprocity of tariff agreement. The interests of the Dominion and the United States will become more and more one on both Atlantic and Pacific

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oceans. They are separated by a great distance from the motherland of both. Force of arms against the other on the part of either we now know would never bring this about. It would come through an invitation and an agreement, each Canadian province immediately becoming a state in the Union and each district temporarily a territory.

With the British Empire as our ally in a world war, such a result could never be. But with a peaceful dissolution of the empire it might become a reasonable outcome for both. *The Cambridge Modern History* says¹ that "in every field of government, whether in legislation, justice, administration, or foreign policy, the great Dominions have assumed an increasing control over their own affairs. Clearly and fully the mother country has been throwing upon them the burden of their own destiny, which they in turn have promptly taken up with courage. Yet the logical and at one time not unexpected result of such a policy—the gradual dissolution of the empire—has not followed." Yet the Dominions urged claims at Versailles which indicated such an outcome. Should a dissolution ever ensue and should the United States and Canada by mutual consent unite, they would become the protectors of the American continent from aggression east or west or south. Together they should maintain liberty, order and law in North America.

An expanse extending from Atlantic to Pacific and from the border of the United States to the

¹ Vol. XII, p. 650.

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Arctic, comprising 3,745,574 square miles, Canada would have no adequate means of defending its population of 5,371,315 in the event of any ultimate disintegration of the empire of which it is a part. It had no navy at the beginning of the great war and computed its war strength of all ages at not more than a half million men. Its good British and French blood is uninfused. The Canadians are not a people in the sense that all have been who have been built up through many centuries from a transfusion. The hundred thousand Indians, descendants of the original possessors of the land who gave way before the prowess of the whites, are merely tolerated, as here. Themselves conquerors of a new territory, the Canadians would be assimilable into the United States by every tie of language, religion, political system and race.

Assuming that it would be for the inestimable benefit of the Americans and Canadians to unite in a greater United States, what opportunity for expansion of activity would the Dominion provide for our people? Its resources are almost as varied as those of this country. It has nine provinces and five districts. Three of the provinces are about the size of the State of Texas, two of them a third larger, one as extensive as Nebraska, another like West Virginia and another similar in extent to the small State of Delaware. Two of the districts are twice as large as Texas, one with about the same number of square miles as that state, and another more extensive than California. Numerous rivers give fertility. Nine lakes are more than an hun-

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dred miles in length, and thirty-five are over fifty miles long.

The climate is varied. In this respect the Pacific slope is like Western Europe. Only Ungara and Labrador are very chill because of the iceberg-laden current which sweeps along the Atlantic shore. South of the Gulf of St. Lawrence the temperature ranges from 40 degrees for the year to sixty degrees in the summer. In Quebec and Ontario the winters are brilliant but cold, and in the heated season from 60 to 65 degrees fahrenheit. On the plains, where there is clear and bracing atmosphere, the climate is especially beneficial to those suffering from lung trouble. Even in the Mackenzie river valley, near the Arctic Circle, the average temperature is not less than 55 degrees.

The entire land is a hunter's paradise. Animals are varied among them, Musk ox, caribou, moose, pronghorn antelope, Virginia blacktailed and mule deer, bison, elk, grizzly, black and cinnamon bear, timber wolf, coyote, puma, fox, lynx, beaver, otter, marten, fisher, wolverine, mink, hare and rabbit. Turkey, grouse and geese abound. Eagles are numerous, but for the most part birds are of the same kind as found in the United States and migratory.

The forest wealth is the greatest in the world. Canada is destined to rank as the most important of the wheat-producing countries. Already it yields about one-fifth as much as here. Good samples of this staple have been grown at latitude 61.52 degrees, at St. Simpson on the Mackenzie river, more than eight hundred miles north of Winnipeg and

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a thousand miles from the boundary of the United States. A quarter of a million bushels of oats are harvested annually. Buckwheat is produced plentifully for the national dish of griddle cakes and maple syrup. Vegetables of all sorts are to be found everywhere. In the entire Dominion are 2,019,824 horses. Cattle, sheep, swine and poultry are abundant. Indeed, because of its immense dairy resources, Canada has been called the "land of milk and honey."

In the manufacturing industries wood pulp, lumber and canned salmon have the chief place, though pig iron and steel have of late become important. Large bituminous coal deposits are to be found in British Columbia and Nova Scotia. The land is the world's chief producer of asbestos, nickel and corundum. Copper, lead, silver and all the important metals are mined in the Rocky Mountain region. Vast tracts of virgin soil, like those which inspired the builders of the western half of the United States, are available and given away by the government in homesteads of 160 acres each. Educational institutions are thoroughly distributed; 86 per cent. can read and write. Order is well maintained. In the Canadian Northwest seven hundred mounted police or "Riders of the Plains" keep such peace in the remotest mining camp as was not known in the days of the vigilance committee of '49. Two great transcontinental railways span the continent, one having its western terminus at Vancouver and the other at Prince Rupert.

It may be that in history President Wilson will

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receive the chief credit for having brought about a mutual defense in a common cause and an ultimate political unification of the two English-speaking nations of this continent. This would be the happy conclusion of a century of more or less pleasant relations. Prior to the Civil War complete commercial reciprocity between the two countries reigned, but afterwards Congress, in resentment of the aid given the Confederacy by England, stopped all that. Canadians, too, had their ire aroused by the Fenian raids. The two peoples drew away from each other gradually in homogeneity of interest, and in the Taft administration reciprocity with this country was rejected by the Canadians. Then, through the efforts of John A. Stewart, of New York, the two governments were brought into more friendly relations by a celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the conclusion of the war of 1812. Finally, after America had declared war upon the common enemy in 1917, the mutuality of effort resulted in a unity of spirit. It may be that Canada will choose to remain a part of the British Empire and a separate dominion, with its own separate parliament and premier as now, but certainly the foundation has been established for a greater English-speaking North American republic.

Mexico is in striking contrast to the United States in climate and economic conditions. In that country are 13,607,259 persons in a territory of 767,055 square miles, about three times the State of Texas. The temperature varies annually from

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77 degrees to 82 degrees and sometimes as high as 105 degrees. Considering the extent of land area, the density of population, the salubrity of the climate, and the resources in mines, forests and soil, Mexico is one of the richest countries on the globe. Yet nowhere have such opportunities been more abused by oppression and constant turmoil. The people are divided among 19 per cent. of whites of pure Spanish descent, 38 per cent. of Indians and 43 per cent. of mixed blood. These figures are but roughly estimated. The blood of Spain became decadent centuries ago and that of the Aztecs even before. Out of these has come a short and physically weak people, cruel and vindictive.

The adobe hut is the type of residence of the great body of inhabitants. It is squalid and made of mud. Peonage prevails. The half breeds are chiefly noted for their indolence and criminal instincts. The habits and surroundings of the Indians are so unsanitary that the death rate among the children amounts to 50 per cent. In 1864 Don Manuel Oroseo y Berra found among the Indians fifty-one languages, sixty-nine dialects and sixty-two idioms, a total of 182, each representing a different tribe. Perhaps nowhere in the world are the people so ignorant. A start toward education was made and in 1904 there were said to be 620,676 children in school, but the past few years of revolution and rapine have destroyed such progress.

In the early days of Spanish rule the country was entirely under ecclesiastical control, and there are today in the so-called republic 13,533,013 Roman

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Catholics, 51,795 Protestants, 3,011 of other faiths and 18,640 of no faith. The Holy Inquisition was established in 1571 and in 1574 its first *auto de fé* was celebrated with the burning at the stake of twenty-one "pestilent Lutherans." This institution for the defense of orthodoxy was continually active for two and a half centuries and ceased only after the revolution of 1820. It became necessary to stipulate in the constitution of the new government that no senator or member of the Chamber of Deputies should be an ecclesiastic. Under the system of limiting the suffrage to all citizens above the age of eighteen years for married and twenty-one for unmarried men engaged in honest means of livelihood, it became possible for a regime like that of President Diaz to restrict the right to vote to few and intimidate the rest.

The extensive power exercised by ecclesiastical rule during the colonial period enabled it to establish means of moulding the belief of the weak people, and also to control their industries and shape the political problems governing their daily life. In this way it acquired enormous wealth, becoming the owner of great estates in every part of the country and highly productive enterprises in the towns. In 1859 the church owned one-third of the real and personal property of the republic. Coupled with this unjust distribution of land and goods and the gross ignorance and superstition of the masses is the national amusement of bull fighting. In a land where the orthodox Christian religion has held such long sway and would be sup-

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posed to have inculcated ideas of morality, this is the favorite diversion of Sunday crowds. The bull is brought into the ring to face the matador, with his red flag and his poinard which stings and thrusts, and finally sinks to a cruel death inevitable from the beginning. I have seen the horse ridden by the matador gored by the bull until its intestines fell a foot or two from its belly. The poor animal was then dragged out, sewed up and actually used for the same purpose the following Sunday. To this has fallen a land systematically denied civil and religious liberty.

Yet Mexico is a land of golden opportunity. It abounds in mineral and floral wealth. Extensive coffee, sugar and rubber plantations are to be found in the extreme south. On the plateau a large portion of the acreage is as yet too arid for agriculture. There the crops of wheat, barley, Indian corn and forage grasses are interrupted by long draughts, and the people are compelled to supply the deficiency by importations of food. But in the Terra Calientes are sugar, tobacco, indigo, cocoa, rice, sweet potatoes, alfalfa, beans, corn to the extent of two or three crops a year, bananas, plantain, tuna, chili pepper, olives, cocoanut, oranges, lemons, lime, mango, pomegranate, pineapples, figs, papaya, gourds, melons, guava, plums and zapote. Pulque, the fermented drink made from the mescal sap, is consumed to such an extent that the making of it is the leading industry of Hidalgo, Puebla and Tlaxcala. Silk, vanilla, palm oil, ginger, mahogany, rosewood, ebony, cedar, nuts of all kinds and fruits

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are produced in luxuriant plentitude. Pearl fisheries thrive on the coasts of Yucatan and Campeche. In 1902 there were 5,142,454 cattle, 859,217 horses, 334,435 mules, 287,991 asses, 3,421,430 sheep, 4,206,011 goats and 616,139 swine in the country.

Mexico's most important resources, however, are to be found in the mines. Of the entire number of properties devoted to extracting metal from the earth before the political upheaval under Madero 1572 were gold, 5461 silver, 970 copper, 383 iron, 151 mercury, 6 sal sema, 5 tourmalines, 1 bismuth and 1 turquois. Petroleum, asphalt platinum, graphite, soda and marble are also found. Three hundred million tons of a low-grade coal ore, like that of Texas, is in sight. In the precious metals some of the great bonanzas of the world have been opened. A steady supply of gold has been yielded. Transportation of this from the mines is usually by the burro or mule, though the picturesque but centuries old yoked oxen are to be frequently seen laboriously providing means of transit. Two lines of railway, owned by the government, run south from the border of the United States and have their terminus in the capital, and one cuts across the country from Tehuantepec. Only five cities have a population of more than 50,000. They are Mexico City with 344,721, Guadeloupe with 101,208, Puebla with 93,152, Monterey with 62,266 and San Luis Potosi with 61,019.

From 1821 to 1884 Mexico was troubled by continuous wars. Then came Diaz who for nearly thirty years maintained almost constant peace. As

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his hand grew older and more weak seed of dis-sension was sown, with the result that in 1910 occurred the revolution headed by an arch dreamer, Madero. Bartholomew Diaz made an unsuccessful attempt to wrest power from him, as did General Reyes. Then appeared Victoriana Huerta. The power of the United States wrecked his hopes of gaining outside means of upholding himself and he made way for Carranza. Too weak to subdue the turmoil, he, too, was forced to let the troops of the United States seek to find and punish Villa. In this country and Cuba plotters from time immemorial have contributed gold to revolutionists in return for promises of huge concessions, purchased ammunition and sent it into Mexico openly if the administration in Washington was friendly and covertly if not, with the result that such revolutionists armed bands to keep up a sort of guerilla warfare and sought thereby to gain control over a horde of persons unable to read and write.

In view of the ignorance, superstition, cruelty and disorder which prevail, can it be doubted that the land of the Aztecs would be far happier, more industrious and devoted to the enjoyment of a higher civilization, if the United States were to send into it a force of a quarter of a million soldiers, establish law and order at the point of the sword and exterminate without stint the opponents of genuine liberty? In that case this country would be called an usurper, but it might reply with Napoleon, who in his address to an Irish parliament said: "Be it so. What throne, what government

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ever yet existed which has not been founded on usurpation? The facts which are universal can never be particular. The history of mankind will inform you that the question which should interest them is not who has usurped power, but what use has been made of power when usurped?"

America usurped power when it threw off the yoke of the mother country. It usurped power when it seized the Southwest. It usurped power when it took away the human chattels of the South and made them free men. It usurped power when it suppressed by arms a rebellion of the Filipino people who desired to be independent and self-determining. We have done our work so far by force, as all peoples in history have done theirs, and hypocrisy and cant will not make it different. We should continue to do our work in Mexico. The establishment of universal free education, the opening up of vast individual holdings of land to cultivation and their division among the people, the assurance of equality of right and opportunity irrespective of faction or religion, and the maintenance of as stable and peaceful local institutions throughout the entire territory as in Massachusetts, would at the end of a generation be the answer to the question of whether the United States had interfered in another state for the benefit of the people there or merely its own selfish interest. The Aztecs overcame the Toltecs. The Spaniards conquered the Aztecs. Should the American people conquer Mexico and thereby give opportunity for Italians and other peoples of southern Europe used

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to a warm climate to immigrate and assist us in the task of development, a century or two would see all the persons living in that part of North America as typically American in type as any other.

For the eighteen little states now comprising the republic to enter the Union after being annexed would be an injustice to the older commonwealths. They should be redivided into four or six territories and governed as such for a time before admission as American states. Because of strategic importance in the Caribbean Sea, all of Central America north of the Isthmus and as much of the West Indies as practicable should become a part of the United States as well.

It is as inevitable that the United States spread out over this continent as that the law of blood makes it imperative that, if necessary, it subject a world in order that it may be free in a union of self-governing commonwealths. It is a part of the law of nature that the stronger of the peoples within natural and contiguous boundaries reduce and amalgamate with the others and thereby bring about an even greater nation. Certainly in the near or distant future this will be accomplished. When the American giant fully awakes it will dominate this continent in order that it may fully protect itself.

CHAPTER X

THE FUTURE OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN

"The theatre of events in the great hereafter will be upon the broad expanse of the Pacific Ocean."—William H. Seward.

A CROSS the waters Balboa discovered and Magellan gave a name indicative of their placidity and toward that Orient which has until recently remained in mysterious coma are dawning movements which threaten to change the political, economic and religious earth.

To one who stands upon the slopes of sunny California and gazes out upon those serene depths there comes a pondering of the long past of empires fallen to decay in faraway lands which were once the east and are now the west. He cannot but reflect upon the color and life of the days of the Great Kahn and the scenes depicted by Marco Polo; the hordes that came out of those scenes to threaten Moscow; their marching west in still older times to give the nucleus of a new civilization in Arabia and Northern Africa; the prolonged inactivity which proved to be but the preparation for succeeding mightier overthrows; the adventurers of all lands traveling ever in the direction of the

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sun until they saw it set in blood-red glow on the same sea from whence man had started ages before; Zoroastran, Braham, Buddhist, Confucian and Christian, carrying their respective messages along with the tides that swept their sails afar to that time when even their aggression reached its limits; and then the final reawakening which in the years to come will unite the two hemispheres.

Resting upon that ocean are four great continents which represent the past, present and future of mankind. The nations bordering it number in their populations something like seven hundred millions. China, India, Mongolia and Manchuria signify earliest history, while on the western side of the American Rockies are the outposts of the most advanced civilization and vital people of our day. Siberia, Alaska, Canada, Western South America and Australia are the forge wherein the two forces will work. Up under the roof of the world at Behring strait they face each other. South of that narrow inlet is a string of islands across which in ages when more connected the fathers of the ancient Toltecs, Aztecs, Incas, red men, aborigines, mound builders may have crossed. Toward the Antarctic, westward from Tierra del Fuego, is a far expanse of waters to New Zealand, and then the way is easy to New South Wales, Queensland and New Guinea, through the Straits Settlements to Borneo, Sumatra, Siam and Cathay again.

China proper has a population of 400,000,000, Mongolia of 2,000,000, Siberia of 6,000,000, Alaska of 64,356, Yukon Territory of 8,512, British Colum-

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bia of 392,480, Washington of 1,141,990, Oregon of 672,765, California of 2,377,549, Mexico of 15,063,207, Central America of 3,000,000, Columbia of 5,500,000, Peru of 4,500,000, Chili of 5,000,000, New Zealand and Australia of 5,000,000, Java of 30,098,000, Borneo of 1,250,000, the Celebes of 851,000, other Dutch East Indies of 4,528,411, Siam of 8,100,000, Hawaii of 200,000, the Philippines of 8,735,000, Japan of 52,985,000 and Korea of 15,164,000. Yet these figures give inadequate idea of the possibilities of the development of peoples within the territories named.

That China is not overpopulated, except in certain districts like that of Canton, is shown by the fact that its 400,000,000 people are scattered over an area of 1,500,000 square miles. The Germany of 1914 contained a seventh of that number of persons in an area one-ninth as large. It is estimated that the great Asiatic country could support 50,000,000 more without inconvenience. It is also computed that Manchuria could sustain 200,000,000 more than now, Mongolia another 100,000,000 and Siberia a similar number. Alaska, with a climate milder than Sweden and Norway and an area of 590,884 square miles, could hold 40,000,000 more. In the 207,076 square miles of the Yukon Territory, the 355,855 exceedingly fertile square miles of British Columbia and the richest Pacific lands of Washington, Oregon and California is room for 300,000,000 more. In South America, west of the Andes, 100,000,000 more could be stowed away. Australia and New Zealand could maintain 300,000,-

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000 people. The countries bordering upon the great basin of the Pacific could supply life to a billion and a quarter more human beings than at present inhabit them. History has given much to them, but they are lands of the future in an even larger sense.

The natural resources of these regions are expressed in figures which stagger the imagination. In British Columbia, Washington, Oregon and California are 1,756,000,000,000 feet of lumber, ready to be cut down, milled and supply the needs of the builders of both the Asiatic and American borders of the Pacific.¹ A billion barrels of oil have been produced in California since 1891, that state now providing a quarter of the world's supply. This is worth twice as much as the gold mined in all the years since '49. In California alone are grown 120,000,000 pounds of raisins and apricots annually. There, too, with climate and soil like that of Italy, and with vast supplies of grapes, are possibilities of becoming the vineyard of the great ocean.

In Oregon and Washington are potentialities for wheat growing larger than now, but the granary of the peoples east and west of the Pacific will be Canada, which will in a few years probably produce four times the amount of wheat grown in the United States. In Alaska are 32,000,000 acres of coal lands, with a possible total output of 150,000,000,000,000 tons. This includes lignite and anthracite of the best quality, easy of access to tidewater. The territory sold to the United States by Russia for \$7,000,000 has within it enough fuel to supply the na-

¹ London *Times*, Dec. 31, 1913.

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tions of the Pacific for untold generations. It has also yielded \$200,000,000 in virgin gold.

Along the entire coast of the Americas are immense stores of copper, lead, quicksilver, bismuth, vanadium, tungsten, nickel, iron, sulphur, antimony, petroleum, salt, zinc, borax, cobalt, gypsum, asbestos, ocher, kaolin, molybdenite, manganese, magnesia, mica, peat and marble. In Chili are the most extensive nitrate beds in the world, returning \$30,000,000 in export taxes annually. Australia has extended tracts of untouched land like those of the United States in the middle and latter half of the last century. In Siberia are vast areas for wheat production. These are but scant figures of the stupendous agricultural, mineral and lumber resources of the great basin.

Development of these raw products will stimulate manufactures. With the enhancement of traffic through the Panama Canal, New York benefits by being brought seven thousand miles nearer San Francisco by water, Europe five thousand miles closer, and New Orleans and Chicago in correspondingly nearer proximity to the Pacific Coast and to the Orient. As in the instances of the Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates, the Arno, the Seine, the Thames and the Rhine, great civilization have followed the fertile valleys. Thus the Mississippi valley and its products will have a stimulative and retroactive effect on the Pacific Ocean. It will help to supply the tools, farming implements, electrical machinery and the thousand articles needed for the development of new countries.

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But that part of the United States which will play the greatest part in supplying the wants of the peoples upon the Pacific Ocean will be the three states bordering upon it, notably California. San Francisco has the best harbor, with perhaps the exception of Rio de Janeiro, in the world. As the Eastern States were made rich in agriculture and manufacturing while the Middle West formed the outer settlement, and the latter was built up into wealthy cities and farming communities while the Northwest and the West were the lands of possibility, so now the territory west of the Rockies should seek its prosperity in the quick exploitation of China, Mongolia, Manchuria, Siberia and Australia.

Indeed, all of the Orient, Western Canada, Mexico and Pacific South America should be the recipients of the products created by the cheap iron, coal, oil, lumber and unlimited water power of that region. The Coast should take the hemp, silk and wool of the western side of the Pacific, make them into various articles and send them back; just as the United States formerly sent its wool and cotton to Europe and reimported the manufactured products. Cotton and mixed goods, underwear, and boots and shoes are called for in greater abundance yearly. The moving picture has taken prodigiously in Japan, helping to create a demand for creature comforts there and in Eastern Asia generally. Newspapers are being circulated more extensively in China.

The English-speaking Pacific coast of North

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America can, through the ports of San Francisco, Seattle and Vancouver become the distributing avenue for flour to the Asiatic lands. Bread, the staple of the race, can be supplied to them in inexhaustible quantities. Time was when California produced the finest of wheat, but with greater profits this gave way to fruit raising. In fact, the wheat of the American states on the Pacific is second to none in delicacy, and for the purposes of the peoples of the earth who inhabit the milder climates it cannot be surpassed. It does not contain sufficient heat for the northern races; but the Chinese like it, and there should in the future be a good trade with Southeastern Asia with this as a basis. Oregon and Washington are capable of producing great quantities of it.

Canada, however, containing a volcanic ash soil, will outdistance rivals as a flour producer, and much of its product will be sent in time to meet this demand on the part of Asia. It is not anticipated that Argentine wheat will enter into the Pacific equation, as the demand for its product is mostly from Europe. Siberian wheat is too far inland to figure in the Pacific lands of Asia. Hence the millers of Pacific North America who supply the demand of Eastern Asia will become more potential factors in wealth than those of the northern Mississippi valley ever were. It is not likely that they will have serious rivals in the Japanese Empire by its taking our wheat and making it into flour, for it has not the same demand for by-products. India will consume its own wheat and flour. The war has caused

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an unnatural flow of all wheat products to the armies in Europe, but at its conclusion production and distribution will develop in normal channels.

Of great importance in feeding the peoples of the Pacific basin—and this is particularly the opportunity of our Coast states—is the production of dried fruits. Nutricious, delicious, easily prepared and transported, and very cheap, it is probable that they will be numbered among the most popular staples of the Eastern Orient. It is considered only reasonable to suppose that when the Chinese and kindred races begin to crave more variety in eating they will turn first to the cheaper foods, and these they will find in California's products of this sort. That this is so is partially inferred from the case of France, which before the war raised its own prunes but imported those of the Golden State in increasing quantities. Awaken the Asiatic to the delicacy of the California prune, apricot and other dried fruits, is now the cry of the Coast merchant. Raisins, too, are produced in enormous quantities there. With the development of this trade there will go with it the abundant apples of Oregon and Washington.

Vegetables are perishable and hence cannot be transported across the Pacific from our coast under present conditions. But with the perfection of the making of cans, several of the Coast cities should become the centers of a great canning industry to feed the peoples of the Orient. In this Australia is expected to be unimportant as a competitor. California berries, peaches and other products of

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its soil, as well as vegetables from the entire Coast and Mississippi valley should go sailing over the sea in increasing quantities. With cheap water transportation, it is anticipated by the California canner that he can lay the product of the farm in tins at the door of the housewife in Hong Kong or Shanghai as cheaply as in New York or at even less cost. He is looking for an immense harvest, if not eliminated by trade barriers.

The hardier races of the Pacific region must have a certain amount of meat. When the Chinaman of today buys it he considers it as a delicacy and eats it about as the American consumes the real Russian caviar. In time he may learn to use more, especially if he can afford it, but the possibilities in this are more or less remote. But with the filling up of the northern expanses of Asia there will be a demand for heat-producing meats. Because of the hard winters and insufficient protection to cattle there, it is extremely unlikely that it will furnish its own supply. The United States cannot requite the demand because it will use more than it can produce. Before the war in Europe and our participation in it our meat exportation had been falling off. Great ranges had been broken up to make way for more profitable small farming, the result of urban growth. Hence an increased demand, lessened supply and higher prices. Nor can Argentine, one of the principal abbatoirs of the world, yield the meat for the Pacific Ocean. Europe will consume its surplus for a long time. The cost of refrigeration and consequent difficulty of carrying

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the product around the Horn to the Orient further remove it as a factor.

The country destined to supply the meat for the Pacific, particularly the milder mutton, is Australia. That country has vast tracts of grazing lands which can be utilized for the purpose for a long period. This alone should be sufficient to cause a rapid extension of population in Australia during the next few decades, intensive farming accompanying and following live stock raising, and bringing increasing demand for manufactures for the United States to supply as the result of the era of good feeling after our fighting shoulder to shoulder with Australians in the war.

China probably will continue to be the chief rice producer of the earth for generations. It now raises all it desires for its own immense population and enough to send much abroad besides. This under crude methods, with the exception of great plantations in occidental hands. Because of the cheapness and value of the staple as food, the Chinese, Hindoos, Japanese and Filipinos will undoubtedly continue its use as extensively as now; and, as the oriental is acquiring flour as food, the occidental is adopting rice in place of meat where climate will permit.

The United States is raising rice in Louisiana, but not in sufficient quantity to supply more than a small portion of its own population. The Indian product is small and inferior to ours. The Japanese rice is the best. This the Jap exports to the United States and to the better classes in China and India

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and then imports the Indian, which is cheaper and lessens his living expense. South America will use much Chinese rice, sending in return its cocoa. It is not probable that the United States will trade for the rice of Japan and China our corn in the production of which we continue to lead the world. It is the food of northern nations. America will be busy supplying itself and Europe, while Asia will produce sufficient for its own demand.

The great rival of the United States in its commercial and political activity upon the Pacific Ocean is Japan. That country comprises 156,673 square miles of islands, like Britain. In a similar area are the New England States, New York and Pennsylvania, the most densely populated section of the United States which contains 16,208,696 people. Yet within the narrow limits of Japan at the beginning of the European war were 52,865,259. They live under a government in which their emperor is looked upon as a god. His person is therefore regarded as sacred.

The Japanese are progressive, ambitious and marvelously efficient. They long demanded an outlet in Asia before they found it. The food and population problem has formed the basis of their international policy. The total annual food production is valued at yen 640,000,000 out of a total agricultural yield priced at yen 1,300,000,000. Nearly 900,000 people are engaged in the production of tea. Attempts have been constantly made to add to the wealth of the Island Kingdom by the stimulation of manufactures. Thus in 1868 the

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value of all exports and imports was yen 26,246,545. Forty-five years later this total had reached yen 1,361,891,000 and fifty years later yen 2,777,630,000. The chief import is raw cotton and the principal export is raw silk.

A million people are engaged in the fisheries. Half as many have "weaving houses" in what in Japan is a home industry. In these are 800,000 looms. In them also sixty thousand persons make paper and an hundred thousand manufacture mats. These small establishments are a part of Japanese life and peculiar to it. The production of machinery, chemicals, food and beverages takes up considerable of the efforts of the industrious population. Compulsory education has been adopted, and 97.8 per cent. of children of proper age of both sexes attend school. The governmental system is representative and constitutional in theory, and partially in practice, but rests fundamentally upon the Emperor. The representatives and nobility gain their power in the constitution through him and not from themselves or the people.

Buddhism, Shintoism or ancestor worship, and Christianity are the chief religions, with numerical standing of 28,510,382, of 766,685, and of 140,208 respectively. Telegraph and railway lines are owned and operated by the government. The Japanese are naturally a sea-faring people. The state has subsidized steamship lines to North America, the coast of Eastern Asia and India. The navy is the third largest in the world, and before the great war the army had a peace footing of 220,000 men, with

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a trained reserve in the first line of defense of half a million men and, altogether, of fully a million men. This it was expected would soon be developed to a million and a half.

Such is Japan, a nation aroused out of its sleep but fifty years, and, trained industrially and in a military way, now seeking further expansion on the great waters in which its islands rest. Having insufficient food supply for its crowded population, Korea was seized. But it was to be seen that Japan would seek vaster territory in order to gain raw materials for its manufactures and supply the peoples of the Asiatic mainland. Not a creative nation, it was early found difficult to compete with the United States in the fields of production peculiar to the latter until after imitation of them.

But if it gained preponderant political influence over the territory in which the competition would mainly be and a great merchant marine, it could gain important commercial advantages over this country. To this end it signed a treaty with our agreement whereby we recognized its sphere of influence in Eastern Asia. Further than that, Japan has long desired to impress its individuality upon all the nations bordering upon the Pacific. The Japanese have taken the position that they are equal to any other, that they should be accepted in foreign countries as citizens, as holders of property in the same right, and as recipients of like school privileges.

Facing Japan on this side of the great ocean are the people of the United States, loving liberty, am-

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bitious to sell their products in fair exchange to the Orient, determined to spread their civilization. They will expand on the waters where their interests already lie by possession of the Philippines. This will not be by further taking of territory, for in time to come those islands will be given up to the Filipinos, but by argosies of sails carrying American-made goods, symbols of our arts and crafts and productive soil, and the word of freedom to all men through wire and book and paper.

The Asiatic and the American do not amalgamate; that is, they do not intermarry except rarely, and the Asiatic does not readily accept the standard of living in the land of a composite of Caucasian blood. He undersells both our labor and our product. But in competition for the market of Asia those varied products in which the Japanese cannot underbid America will insist upon equal opportunity by the maintenance of that principle of "the open door" enunciated by John Hay. For the best market of those commodities in which is competition and for influence in all the lands of the Pacific basin there is bound to be a growing rivalry. Out of it will come a contest for supremacy, near or remote, peaceful or otherwise, which will clear the air and determine the future of the Eastern Orient and Western Occident.

The outcome of such an economic or political struggle cannot be in doubt. The course of empire has always advanced westward and toward liberty and equality—from Malay and Cathay and the India of old and from Babylon, Ninevah and Egypt,

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to Greece and Rome, to the lands of Western Europe, to republican America. This in itself would not be sufficient to enable us to out-think and outdo the energetic Japanese. More than theory will be required to do that. But the people of the land of the Mikado have not the blood, the strength, the stature to compete for a great while with the virile Americans whose resources of a natural, military and financial kind have been very thoroughly organized for not only the present but the future. Japan has expanded in Asia, but in time to come it will, like every other empire in history, resume its original boundaries. Those over whom it has claimed suzerainty may bring this about by casting off the yoke.

The sole aspiration upon the Pacific of the United States, as expressed by its statesmen, is the freeing for the future of the nations and generations to come for the ideals and trade but not the conquering sword of a republic of free men. This throughout the ages will be the chief benefit derived by this country from the soul of '49 upon its western shores. This will be brought about sooner and more peaceably should Japan join in the great democratic movement, throw off its feudal system of government and become a republic like ours.

Such a result, however, should not be naively expected by Americans, for Japan from the beginning of the war in 1914 had a mighty hope that with its present institutions it might expand on the Asiatic continent. It so indicated when in that year it made demands upon China which would have

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meant the relinquishment of the sovereignty of the new republic. And Japanese statesmen may have pictured in their vision not only a China taken by conquest, but Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, and Siberia; that is, all of the great mainland within the southern boundary of China, the Himalaya Mountains south and west of Tibet, the Thian Shan Mountains west of Chinese Turkestan, the Altai Mountains west of Mongolia to the Yanesi River, to its mouth in the Kara Sea, to the Arctic and Pacific Oceans. Then there might have grown up in their minds the thought that they would see the land ruled over by their Mikado widen its boundaries southward to include Sumatra, French Indo-China, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Burma to the Ganges and Bramaputra Rivers, and westward to the Caspian and Urals, over Turkestan, the Kirghis Steppes and West Siberia.

But whatever the outcome of the stirring up of the dry bones of Asia, due to the expansion of Japanese activity, there has been in progress for several years, due to the republican ideas of the United States, the electrical and mechanical communication brought about by our inventive genius, and the reaction of the thought of the East upon the West, one of the mightiest creative religious and philosophical revolutions in the history of man; and by it the bridge between religion and science may at last be crossed. Not since the days when the Greeks and Romans conquered the peoples of Asia and Northern Africa and were reacted upon by the ideas of the latter, so that their conceptions

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of life and the hereafter were mutually affected for all the future, has there been such a comparison of ancient and modern view and standard as now. Out of it will come a new world thought and mutual appreciation of Occident and Orient.

CHAPTER XI

THE FUTURE OF THE ATLANTIC OCEAN

"The United States should ultimately possess incomparably the most adequate navy in the world."—Woodrow Wilson.

"The navy of the United States should ultimately be equal to the most powerful maintained by any other nation of the world. It should be gradually increased to this point by such a rate of development year by year as may be permitted by the facilities of the country, but the limit above defined should be attained not later than 1925."—General Naval Board.

"Supreme power belongs to him who gains command of the sea."—Cicero.

AS during the past four hundred years the movement begun by the daring spirit of Columbus resulted in constant discovery and development on the sea along which he sailed westward and a succession of the empires of Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and Britain, so now are gathering forces upon that ocean which may eventuate in the mightiest maritime if not naval struggle yet known.

Great Britain and the United States, for the purpose of the great war in attaining the defeat of Germany, have been friends and allies. Indeed, had not free America gone with food, ships, men and money to the assistance of the monarchical land from whence my own ancestors came it is more than doubtful whether the great result to civilization in Central Europe would have been accomplished.

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Hands of friendship of the English-speaking peoples were extended across the sea, and it was extremely fortunate for the fatherland of the first American colonists that the mother of President Wilson was born in Scotland, and that his generous nature found unanimous support in this country against the atrocity perpetrated by the Germans upon the *Lusitania*, and its violation in other ways of our rights on the seas. Because the men of Britain, Canada, Australia and South Africa fought side by side in the conflict, the armistice in November, 1918, found them one in mutual appreciation and esteem. But the discussion of the final terms of peace had hardly begun when it was seen that the competitive struggle of history was not to cease because the war had ended.

With more than double the wealth of the entire British Empire, the United States reported for the end of the fiscal year 1918 imports amounting to \$2,946,059,403 and exports totaling \$5,847,159,678, as compared to imports in 1912 of \$1,893,925,657 and exports of \$2,364,579,148. In 1917 the United Kingdom reported imports amounting to \$579,157,405 and exports of \$2,901,199,298, as compared to imports in 1913 of \$3,736,050,831 and exports of \$3,085,226,784.

In shipping the United States has made like strides. On June 30, 1914, the total tonnage of the world was 49,089,562, as against 45,201,221 in 1918. In 1914 the United States had a gross tonnage of 5,368,194, of which 2,254,368 was seagoing. In one year after its entrance into the war, from Decem-

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ber 1, 1917 to December 1, 1918, it built 3,028,737 tons, as compared to construction in Great Britain for the same period of 1,600,000. Furthermore it planned for the building of 16,500,000 additional dead weight or actual cargo tons by the end of 1920. At the end of 1918 it had seagoing tonnage amounting to 5,233,052. England, on the other hand, at the beginning of the war had 21,450,049 gross tonnage, of which the United Kingdom possessed 19,256,866 tons. On November 1, 1918, the Empire had a gross tonnage of 17,880,048, of which 15,000,000 constituted seagoing tonnage. The United States was then carrying 9.7 per cent. in its own bottoms, while Great Britain was carrying 70 per cent. in its own bottoms. It was shown to be possible, however, to build enough merchant ships in our yards by 1925 to more than overmatch the mercantile marine of Great Britain.

In order to protect the growing commerce and world interests of the United States it was proposed by Rear Admiral Charles J. Badger for the General Board of the Navy, and by Secretary Daniels, at the conclusion of the war that this country should adopt a building program which would make our fighting strength on the sea equal to that of Great Britain by 1925. Already we were supplying England with most of the steel to make her battleships and the oil with which to run them. At that time the United States possessed or had ordered the construction of fifty-eight battleships and battle cruisers, the latter of which constituted but six. England then possessed sixty-one battleships and

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nine battle cruisers, and had in addition ordered four of the latter. Having become used to prodigious figures in the conduct of the war against Germany and having spent twenty-five billions of dollars to defeat the common enemy, it did not seem reasonable to suppose that the United States would overlook the necessity of preparing to defend itself in any further struggle that might take place, whether peaceful or warlike.

The submarine, more than any other instrument since the days of the caravel of Columbus, has shaken the Atlantic and determined its future. It wore down the world's seagoing commerce to such an extent as to compel the great industrial nations to afterwards proceed in competition on a more even keel. It brought America into the war and is therefore responsible in a maritime way for the results of the war. It made it imperative that the country which could think the quickest, had the most capital to rebuild, and could best man the ships with cheap labor or subsidize that labor, would achieve most in securing the trade of the world.

England for two centuries has not only controlled the sea with her navy, but has had a merchant fleet which has carried the major portion of the ocean commerce of the earth. It means to retain both. To yield either to any other power would result in the dissolution of the empire. It is willing that all other nations stop building immediately because, if it keeps what it has, it will still be able to sweep the water of competitors and enemies. It was willing to do away with the conscription system of rais-

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ing armies in Europe and to agree to maintain none by that method itself, for then it would be in no danger of having any power gain ascendancy at its front door in Europe; but it was not willing that its fleets be disbanded or diminished, because they are the arteries through which its life blood pulsates, and by them it means to maintain its suzerainty over a fourth of the globe. That is its right. It should not be denied that right. But the United States should realize that England is entirely selfish in its aims in this respect and should take advantage of the same right to protect itself and seek its own interest in the world.

This does not mean that England is inimical to the United States. It does not mean that the motherland intends to do aught but cultivate a friendly relationship with the land which was once its colony. Nor does it mean that the United States is antagonistic to Great Britain. It does not mean that the great Republic of the western world intends to do other than extend the hand of fellowship across the ocean to those who speak the same language and have fought in the same cause. It is the hope of both nations that they remain forever friendly. It simply means that Great Britain is necessarily for itself and intends to seek trade and dominion and livelihood and wealth and to protect itself by whatever methods compatible with its civilization which it deems proper. It means that the United States is for itself and its people, is determined to go on in the world's struggle and gain greater wealth, to strive for its human welfare and

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its comfort, convenience and protection. Neither will become a part of the other. Neither will become subservient to the other. Therefore they must compete. And in time they may fight, though it does not seem possible that the land of Tennyson, Kipling and Bryce would fight us. The only alternative is the dissolution of the empire into its component parts as separate republics. This now seems remote.

Perhaps no recent event is more significant of the future of the Atlantic Ocean than the alliance against Germany of so many of the nations bordering upon that great body of water. Thus Great Britain, France, Portugal, their colonies in Western Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Canada and the United States have similarly acted and suffered in the interests of civilization. This has helped to bring about a greater community of interest between them and, with the growing ascendancy of this country, should enable us to ultimately leaven the entire Atlantic basin with our ideas. It assisted in proving to all in the alliance that the aims of the United States were unselfish so far as it was concerned. It perhaps convinced them that if the United States desired to excel in commerce and to finally dominate the seas it would do so only in order that it might establish a world state wherein each nation and people would have equal voice and authority and wherein great naval power, except as each nation may contribute one ship to it, in order to maintain order and peace, might be done away with.

In order that it may become the greatest of mari-

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time and naval nations the United States should take full advantage of the start in merchant and naval construction made during the war. It should utilize its immense facilities for construction, but under private ownership in order that extravagance and waste may be prevented. It might then again become as important an ocean carrier as it was before the Civil War. We were at that period an agricultural country. Our people were frugal. Their standard of living was on a level with their rivals. But in the blockade during the war the American bottoms disappeared, and thereafter, with the enhancement of manufactures and a much higher standard of wages and living, it became more difficult to compete with foreign ship rates. But with vast operations of building on the part of the government this disparity has been fictitiously made up, and now we are again in position to see our trade carried under our own flag.

To fully regain the position formerly held by the United States in maritime commerce it is imperative not only that ships be standardized to single patterns for equal size, but that cargoes to distant points be subsidized to provide for higher wages to such an extent as to cover the difference in operation at home and abroad, as in the case of the tariff. An alternative would be a system of discriminating duties against goods imported in foreign bottoms, but in that case the nations flying their respective flags on those bottoms might retaliate, as they did when they forced France to abandon such duties. Another alternative is the

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continuance of building under government control. This would lead to endless extravagance and waste, if not corruption. In any event, it is preferable to have sufficient bottoms for our commerce under our own flag. A foreign flag, carrying its own captain and seamen and its own cargoes principally, and those of the United States only incidentally, is much more interested in its own trade than in ours. Shipping has always helped to carry civilization in an awakened desire for goods, customs and even institutions. The earth is covered with a network of wires today, and the same prominence is not given to the arrival of a vessel in port as in former times, but the principle survives and undoubtedly has an effect upon trade.

It will do no good to build a great fleet for commercial purposes, however, if it is not to be accompanied by methods of adaptation to the life and habits of those our financiers and merchants are to trade with. America—and this is primarily a problem of the Atlantic, because of the greater economic development there—should take the financial leadership of the world, now due it, and keep it indefinitely, with New York as the center. American banks and branch houses should be established in South America and Africa, learning the local methods and prejudices with thoroughness and care. Even though Germany has been forced within its original territorial boundaries, it is seeking to manufacture so rapidly and cheaply as to furnish the world market with its products. It would be a folly then to permanently stop the teaching of German

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in our schools—a spite which might react to our commercial disadvantage.

Spanish, the language of Mexico and South America, where our interests so largely lie, should be studied with a view to practical use. Latin, along with Greek, should pass into disuse, to be a part of the curriculum of the university for those so electing. Two years of Spanish and one of other modern and commercial language should replace it in the high schools of the country, a compulsory course by all pupils. It is these boys and girls who will some day become the advance agents of our commerce. They should be trained to the utmost to meet the keenest sort of competition. Talk of trade boycotts, as meritorious as their object may be, will be diverted by the dollar seeking profit alone.

It is not an exhausted world that has turned its attention to commercial and intellectual pursuits after the war, but is a revived world. A slight percentage of those engaged have been killed. The remainder have been stimulated to intensified effort in various fields of production. In the interval women have taken a place in industry never before contemplated. It is impossible that they shall ever return to their former status. A great number of them have mated with returning soldiers, but there is a sufficient residue remaining in industry to more than make up for the casualties during the conflict. Enormous national debts, a general condition of hardship, and the necessity of obtaining subsistence by the millions of individuals returning

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from the fronts, have made imperative national economy and vaster wealth production.

All the method and systematic effort utilized by entire states for war purposes have been turned to manufacturing, agriculture and other forms of production. The more intensified and abundant this is, the greater will be the demand for foreign markets. For a time wages are lowered, production cost is slightly less, and prices are slowly cut down by the removal of the abnormal demand to support those engaged in the war, the habit gained of living more economically and the prevention of further currency inflation. With the greater peoples starting on a more even basis than before the mighty conflict began, and the enhanced energies of the peoples engaged in it turned toward peaceful pursuits, the inevitable result is an attempt by every means possible to secure the trade of the countries surrounding the Atlantic Ocean. In this the United States has the advantage in raw and finished production, if it utilizes its opportunity to the full.

Such increased energies, post bellum economic chaos and seeking for foreign trade must inevitably result in considerable emigration into new countries. Every nation with surplus population has expanded. With a stirring up of the former Russian Empire and of the Balkans, so long held back by lack of education and scientific method of production, it is not unlikely that many millions of Germans and Austrians might turn to new fields of effort. This is also true of Russians, English and

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Italians. In Atlantic South America is room for a half billion more persons, in Africa for a quarter billion and in North America for 150,000,000.

The United States cannot insist upon shutting out cheap foreign Caucasian labor, for the reason that if it does it will prevent itself from competing for foreign markets. A value given to a labor market in which the demand is greater than the supply may be upheld by a protective tariff high enough to retain our own market for the time being; but it cannot enable us to become the greatest of maritime and commercial nations. By a proper infusion of Caucasian labor without restriction and a protective tariff we can maintain our standard of living and gain foreign trade. If we permit this to come without restriction, greater number of foreigners will ultimately immigrate to our wealth of resources than before the conflict began.

Assuming that the American people realize that they have permanently become a world power, that they are no longer isolated in contentment to live within lines of least resistance, and are determined to find opportunity for expanding energy, what field have they on the Atlantic Ocean? First in importance, South America, which now offers greater opportunity for quick and extended development than any other expanse on the earth. It has the fertile valleys of the Amazon and Parana. The far interior is almost unknown. A great range of mountains with some of the highest peaks in the world extend north and south almost the entire length of the continent. In this are deposits of the

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precious metals which enriched the Spanish grantees of old, but have hardly been scratched. They await the surplus capital from manufacturing and agricultural South America to find development.

Other metals will plentifully provide for the industrial needs of the Atlantic portion of the continent, and in Chili is sufficient coal to supply the Latin Republics indefinitely. Vast tracts of grassy plains on the eastern side give ample means for cattle grazing and farming. Already Argentine is one of the chief grain producers, the principal coffee supply of mankind is raised in Brazil, and rubber is a principal crop of a territory like that of the United States. Areas of timber land similar to those to be found in this country a century ago await the hand of man to cut them. These include mahogany and other hard woods. Argentine is an important exporter of meats and hides. Sugar and tobacco are promising crops. Some of the richest soil on the globe is to be had for the asking. Means of communication are still primitive in the greater portion of the continent, but, in those sections where population has required it, modern transportation facilities have been provided. No long trunk line of railway runs north and south, however, and none crosses South America at its widest point.

That the continent to the south of us will become in the course of the next half century one of the most important of agricultural producers may be judged from its tremendous virgin resources. The Amazon River is navigable for 2,200 miles and is

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3,300 miles long. At its point of entrance into Brazil it is two miles in width and at its mouth is 150 miles from shore to shore. Together with its tributaries, it forms the largest river system in the world, and should in the future provide a mammoth production and a civilization tempered by the heat of the equator. Today there are in Brazil 23,070,969 people. Less than half are of white blood. A third are half breeds and the remainder pure negro and Indian. Portuguese is the language spoken and the basic stock is of that descent. Half a million Germans are in the State of Dio Grande de Sul and as many Italians in San Paulo. Processes of intermixture has been too recent to admit of sufficient transfusion to make a warlike people. With so large and fertile an area Brazil could easily support 300,000,000 persons. As railway lines are extended and the Amazon becomes a scientifically extended and improved system of internal waterways, carrying goods back and forth in the interior, Brazil will become one of the chief marts of the earth. It already has the best of all natural harbors at Rio de Janeiro.

Argentina, situated in a temperate zone, contains immense grazing and farming possibilities. Its population is 7,171,910, the Italian element of which has increased rapidly in sixty years, and its area is five times as large as France. Columbia, with an area two and a half times the State of Texas, has 5,076,000 inhabitants, mostly mixed white and Indian. Pure whites constitute less than 10 per cent. of the total. With the Panama Canal

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in near proximity, it has opportunities for exploitation in agriculture, minerals and timber. In the small country of Ecuador, with an area of 116,000 square miles, the 1,500,000 people are mostly Indians and half breeds; only 200,000 are estimated to be pure whites. In British, Dutch and French Guiana the inhabitants are mostly negroes. Those of Uruguay, on the contrary, are almost entirely pure Spanish and Italian. Though the smallest country of South America, with an area less than Nebraska, the foreign trade of that country in live stock and agricultural products exceeds \$100,000,000, and ranks next to Argentine, Brazil and Chili. Venezuela, with 2,743,000 people in a territory of 394,000 square miles, has potentialities dependent upon the Panama Canal and the development of the Caribbean Sea region. The total population of South America is 49,000,000.

Though it has a very large supply of water power and an abundance of coal and iron, the continent has only latent possibilities for manufacturing. Agricultural products are exported northward and eastward. Prior to the war these were exchanged for manufactured goods from the United States, Great Britain and Germany. In thirteen years the value of these imports had increased from \$38,337,667 to \$145,724,022. It may be expected that within a generation the inner recesses of the great expanse of land will be uncovered and brought to cultivation. This process will be more rapid than in the case of the United States because

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of the recent development of transportation, electricity and machinery.

The new-comers gradually fall into old Spanish and Portuguese ways of education, religion and life, and take up the agricultural lands in an easy fashion. Made up of races of mild climates in Europe which had their day of expansive power several centuries ago, they cling to the customs they brought with them. Easier means of livelihood and enjoyment are the incentives for advancement. Conducting commercial affairs largely on a social basis, and there being as yet no transfusion of the great races, they have not the hardihood, initiative and quick perception of the American pioneers, who sprang from still vigorous northern peoples.

Hence, despite all the continued and greatly augmented influx of immigration from Southern Europe during the next half century, it is quite unlikely that there will be an appreciable impetus toward manufactures. The nations of the world which have developed most in this branch of industry have been those with abundant energy. In time, after agricultural areas have reached their limit, the creation of artificial goods will progress. But in the meantime the opportunity for the sale of manufactured goods in South America belongs to Europe and the United States, and should belong in far greater measure to us. To bring about an even closer commercial union of North and South America a Pan-American railway should be built along the west and east coasts of the United States, Mexico and Central America, meeting at Panama

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and thence spreading out again along the coasts of South America to Patagonia.

For this future result and for immediate enhancement of trade, the continent is better situated than formerly because more orderly. From the time of the throwing off of the yoke of Spain in the early years of the nineteenth century for a prolonged period revolutions and dictators followed each other in rapid succession. Tyranny was often exercised under the name and form of a republic. Corruption and favoritism thrived. Privileges were bartered. But in the course of the last few decades has grown up a more stable condition. Life and property have become more secure. The fears on the part of the South American states that the United States might become aggressive and domineering toward them have been found unjustified. As the government of Washington and Lincoln has vouchsafed to them protection under the Monroe Doctrine against European aggression, it may be concluded that rule by the people has permanently taken possession of South America. With similarity of interests both continents of the western hemisphere will gradually become akin in commercial as well as political life.

Across the South Atlantic is another immense industrial prize in the continent of Africa. Developed to slight extent by the western European peoples, it awaits the hand of science and method to make it a dwelling place and center of endeavor for all races. Negroes, Bushmen and Aborigines inhabit the interior. In the northeast are Egypt-

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ians and Abyssinians and in the north are Arabs and Berbers. With the latter the principal staple of food is dates. South of the narrow fringe of territory along which they subsist are the deserts of Sahara and Gobi. In Central and South Africa are to be found the flora and fauna which are to form the basis of the coming civilization. In that region are immense tracts for the development of varied woods and of rubber, and rich agricultural, grazing and mineral lands.

Farming will continue to be the chief industry for a long time, and hence the opportunity for the manufactured goods of the United States. It should be its policy to maintain there, to as great an extent as possible, such freedom of commercial opportunity as will give ready access to a growing market. With the dissemination of technical education among the 126,000,000 of people in Africa, most of them Ethiopians, and the abandonment of mere exploitation of the natives for the benefit of the nations of western Europe, there should be a tremendous additional impetus to production.

Spain built in the New World a dominion which remained beneath its sovereignty long after the period of its greatest strength. It gave laws, institutions and religion to much of South America and the lower portion of North America. Portugal, spreading out, planted its masterpiece of colonization in Brazil, a country larger in extent than the United States. Its imprint and that of Spain are so similar, except in language, that they may be said to be one. The Dutch founded New Amsterdam,

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only to have it taken away from them and renamed New York, and left but a trace of territory in Guiana. Frenchmen took Canada and explored the Mississippi, finally leaving to the State of Louisiana the Code Napoleon which remains as a fundamental system. Their vast possessions were either seized by the British or purchased by the United States.

The English common law and representative institutions were thus left as a permanent influence in shaping the future civilization of the North American continent. Questions of sovereignty had long been settled in the Western Hemisphere when Africa, almost unknown until 1850, was discovered and exploited without being thoroughly colonized, in this process the Germans, Belgians and Italians joining the older colonizing nations. Then in 1914 came the great debacle which was to determine the strongest of the mighty powers around the Atlantic, and therefore the victor of preponderant political influence in Africa and perhaps in the commercial future of South America.

Now arises the United States, with vast possibilities of men and wealth and super-abundant energy, to wrest from Great Britain its supremacy in trade and perhaps its naval domination on the Atlantic, and to stamp its civilization upon all the countries both east and west of that ocean for the future ages as part of a life of genuinely free men. As the civilization of Great Britain was superior to its predecessors, so ours is superior to that of Great Britain. England's greatest work has been

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done. She can overcome her enemies only by using the vital forces of the United States to help her. That she is not less ambitious, however, is revealed by the fact that in 1912 she made a condition of her recognition of the new republic of China her seizure of Thibet and her willingness to gain in territory at the expense of Germany at the termination of the war; but her ambition is born of empire and not virility to conquer with her own forces. In this sense she is decadent, and in time the United States must overcome her with its far mightier power, unless she in the meantime peacefully relinquishes dominion over lands which ask freedom to govern themselves.

CHAPTER XII

THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD

"A nation—and were it even possible, a whole world—of free men, lifting their foreheads to God and nature; calling no man master, for none is their master, even God; knowing and obeying their duties toward the Maker of the Universe, and therefore to each other, and that not from fear, nor calculation of profit or loss, but because they had loved and liked it, and had seen the beauty of righteousness and trust and peace, because the law of God was in their hearts; and need at last, it may be, neither king nor priest, for each man and each woman were kings and priests of God. Such a nation—such a society—what nobler conception of mortal existence can we form? Would not that indeed be the kingdom of God come on earth?"—Charles Kingsley.

TO a world gradually groping throughout the centuries, whether in peace or war, toward unity of governmental, industrial, commercial, scientific, legal and religious conception, there can be but one ultimate outcome for mankind and that to accept the ideal of the American people and federate into a single state which shall include all races, nations and climes.

So evident are the tendencies in that direction that it is not a question of whether the result shall be the Federation of the World, but just how it shall be brought about. Certainly it will not become a reality by mere high sounding and rhetorical declaration in favor of universal peace. It will not come through a parliament of legal representatives

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of all self-determining nationalities which might fail to perceive that the decrees of a congress are as naught if without force to back them. It will not appear by means of a world court wherein problems of controversy may be decided on supposed merits of particular cases in lieu of discussion by peoples. It will not be the expression, law and policy of one man, for history teaches that from such unchecked power civilization has suffered its greatest disasters. It will not be brought by the mediocre acting in common, as in Revolutionary France and Bolshevik Russia, to suppress with democracy on their lips but with tyrannical method all rival opinion. It will not be brought into being by a league of great nations temporarily acting together from motives of self-interest to control the rest and maintain a status quo. Nor will it ever come through a commission of dictators set up in the name of expediency to rule the world.

All of the discussion throughout the earth of the subject of a league of nations, and all the means taken by various countries to assist in it, have helped to promote the ideal of world unity. Every people and nation everywhere has had its attention concentrated for a time upon the problem, and it is certain that further momentum will be given to the movement as time goes on; for it will be seen more and more that this is the keystone in the arch of the reformation and regeneration of the entire race of men. More struggle will be required before its day comes. More wars will ensue. More suffering will follow. But with every clash and conflict

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of opinion and force in international affairs, the lesson will come home to the peoples of every land that this is the only solution of the question of how to preserve law and order and civilization in equal measure everywhere.

Only through a combination of such elements and machinery, resting upon the consent of the governed, as conceived and modified by Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson, can the ends of justice and righteousness be obtained through government. This would be the outcome of that tendency by which the clan and afterwards the tribe gave way to the small and then the greater nation, and finally to empire and attempts made by conquerors and ambitious potentates toward universal dominion. It would be the outcome of that trend toward representative institutions and liberty in which, after the Grecian democracies and the Roman republic had sunk to rest, the city states and the federations in Europe succeeded each other from time to time, culminating in free America; South America and Mexico, France after 1871, Portugal, China and Russia overthrew the yoke in however crude a way; constitutions were wrested from monarchs in the middle of the last century, as in Germany, Austria and Italy; the Hague conference was called by the Czar, with the result of a permanent court of arbitration, which was potent only until nations animated by self-interest and with force found it necessary to test power by the sword; the Interparliamentary Union, the Pan-American Union of the Latin American Republics and this country, the at-

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tempts to bring about closer relations between the component parts of the British Empire, and the movement having in view the establishment at Versailles of a league of the Allied nations.

It would also be the outcome of such forces to bring about greater amalgamation of the activities of mankind as great trusts and other combinations of capital, unification and federalization of control of certain industries, socialism, labor unionism, religious and political community of interest, and the railroads, steamships, telegraph, telephone and printing press. Genuine self-government has spread and given further weight to the statement of Emanuel Kant that the prerequisite of the Federation of the World is the establishment by all the nations individually of representative institutions.

Every people on the earth having expanded in empire, it remains for the United States, with its work on this continent accomplished, to demand as its return for its breaking away from the traditions of Washington and Monroe and its participation in the world war and world politics, that every people on the earth not only have the right of self-determination but a place in a federal republic for all. It can accomplish this not by idealism but by the excellence of its military establishment founded upon red corpuscles, not by vain hopes and desires but by ardor of devotion to the unselfish task of beating off usurping empires from weak peoples that had their day in the long past and have been awaiting the time when they should awake from the torpor of centuries and express themselves with

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full individuality by intelligence alone, as China and Korea.

Made up of all peoples, it alone should pulsate with sympathy for the entire world. It alone has taken a Cuba and given it liberty again. It alone has fought for a free Europe without selfish return. It alone contains a people enthusiastically bent upon giving the world free institutions as the highest expression of itself. It alone has been fighting for democracy everywhere. It alone has the capacity to put a million freshly soldiered youths in the field every year under universal training, is able to supply itself with every item of food and material, and has invention as its genius.

The world state of the future should have one law and one government. The latter should have three co-ordinate branches, as that of the United States has. It should have its system of checks and balances of authority. Tyranny should be prevented thereby through the power given legislature and courts and their restriction upon the executive. Efficiency of administration should be provided by great departments.

The chief executive of the earth should receive such authority as is now given to the President of this country. He should be subject to removal by a two-thirds vote of the less numerous branch of the congress after impeachment by the more numerous branch. He should appoint all important federal officers, and be commander-in-chief of such forces of a minor but adequate character as may be required to put down insurrections anywhere on

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the globe and maintain public order. He should be elected for a term of ten years and be once eligible for re-election. He should receive a salary of \$250,000 per annum, enough to maintain in dignity such a position. At the conclusion of his term he should have a seat, a voice and a vote in the Senate. Election should be by the people, irrespective of race, creed or previous condition. Authority should rest upon them alone and be grounded upon the principle that under the law all men are created equal.

The President should be assisted by a cabinet comprising a secretary of state to transact official correspondence of the chief executive with the several states and be his principal confidential adviser; a secretary of public order to see to the details of maintaining peace in the world by means of a small navy composed of one ship from each nation and a regular standing army made up of a contingent from each nation; a secretary of commerce and manufactures to administer the laws pertaining to business production and distribution; a secretary of communication to head post-office, telegraph and telephone; a secretary of public works to oversee building, bridge, road and harbor construction required by the federation; a secretary of agriculture to superintend the execution of the laws relating to the development of farming lands everywhere; a secretary of labor to inspect technical problems regarding wage earners and report suggestions of betterment; a secretary of transportation to direct the execution of statutes

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relating to land, water and air locomotion and navigation; a secretary of the treasury to administer the details of a universal coinage, finance and banking system; a secretary of mines and public lands to execute restrictions placed upon coal mines, oil, water power and other natural resources susceptible to monopoly, and to provide for the giving of homesteads out of vacant and tillable soil and the prevention of enormous holdings of land by individuals; an attorney general to institute and defend suits in the name of the federation, as well as to investigate wrongs and seek remedies at law; a secretary of public health and sanitation to enhance the progress of medicine and research, to carry out regulations for the prevention of contagious diseases and to administer laws pertaining to food and drugs; a secretary of publication to supervise the carrying out of laws relating to the subject of literature, journalism, book and magazine making, advertising and libraries, to suggest methods of the mechanical improvement of a free press, protect the production of pulp and other constituents of paper so as to vouchsafe printed matter for the public at as cheap a rate as possible, to prevent the press of the world from getting into the hands of a monopoly or a series of them, to publish all documents and papers of the general government, and to collect and maintain a library for the use of the central authorities; and a secretary of education to report upon improvements in and supervise the carrying out of laws relating to all grades of instruction.

Each of the members of the cabinet of the Presi-

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dent of the earth should have a seat and a voice, but not a vote in the deliberations of either branch of the congress during consideration of appropriation bills relating to his department. A vice-president, selected for the same length of term as the President, should preside over the less numerous body, with voice but no vote except in case of a tie.

The national legislature of the federation should consist of a house of representatives and a senate. The former should be elected directly by the people on the basis of one to every three millions of population, or one to every nation where the number of inhabitants is less. It should have the sole authority to originate money bills, as in the case of the English Parliament and the more numerous branch of the Congress of the United States. Members should be selected for a term of five years and take office within two months after election. Two senators should be selected by the legislature of each nation and serve a term of ten years. It would be preferable to have the members of the less numerous body selected in this way instead of by the people, first, because they would then be the representatives of representatives and therefore larger national figures and more conservative and able men, and, second, because they would then be more apt to consider national and world interests in their broader aspect rather than in favor of any popular clamor of the time. Certainly this would be true at the period of the organization of such a government, at least. The branches of the legislature should be co-ordinate, without one being superior

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or inferior to the other in general authority.

In the supreme court of the world sitting at the federal capital there should be eleven members. Time has shown that in our own court the docket is frequently delayed by the fact that the number of justices to write opinions is insufficient. Another reason for the naming of two more by the President of the federation is that the circuit over which each would preside during the interregnum between sessions in cases of appeal would be larger. Two or three weeks might be required to travel to some portions of the jurisdiction. The duties should be the construction of the constitution in the decision of international cases.

The constitution of the federation should uphold the rights of property; of equal protection under the law to every person of whatever race, religion or color; free worship without molestation, free speech, a free press, and of every boy and girl to a free education at the hands of the state, at the same time denying the privilege to any sect, whether Mohametan, Confucian, Buddhist or Christian, to establish separate general systems of primary, graded or secondary education; abolish forever all titles to kingship or nobility, all special privileges of birth, wealth or origin, and all connection between church and state anywhere in the world; also polygamy, polyandry and slavery in any form; also grant the right to all women on the earth to equality of suffrage, property and independence. Tariffs and diplomacy and armaments should then be abolished.

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General laws should be applicable to every nation, the exercise of the police power alone being reserved to each. Constitutions containing every ism of the moment of adoption often result in confusion or regret. A simple instrument laying out the barest outline, as in the immortal document framed by the fathers of the American commonwealth, and especially by the genius of Alexander Hamilton, is wisest and best withstands the assaults of radicalism throughout future time. Such a government would necessarily be "of the people, by the people and for the people" of the earth. Two great parties would perhaps spring up, one radical and the other conservative to satisfy the natural division of minds. Others might arise with the intent of making humanity over according to a new pattern, but they would not be apt to last long. Elections for the president and congress would engross attention, but all nations and peoples would in a generation become as accustomed to conducting them in orderly and honest fashion as are now the people of the United States. In these every white, black, yellow, brown and red man and woman over twenty-one years of age should participate.

English should ultimately become the language of the earth. Already it is used more than any other. To propose a new tongue and expect everybody to learn it to gratify the vanity of the man who invented it would be impractical. As the language of government and commerce and then of all communication English should be used in schools

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throughout every continent and become universal. There is justice in this, for the English-speaking peoples have accomplished more for human liberty than all of the balance of the race combined. Every people should be expressed in a nation and have a voice in the federation. About sixty states should be included in it, making a total number of senators of about 120 and a house of representatives of more than five hundred.

The states of Asia should be India, Burma, Siam, Annam, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Manchuria, Siberia, Japan, Korea, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Persia and the great state of Israel at the junction of three continents. Africa, now apportioned arbitrarily within boundaries made by the colonizing empires of Europe, should be divided into five nations: one circumscribed by the Atlantic Ocean, Mediterranean Sea, the line of 20 north and the eastern limits of Tripoli and French West Africa; another comprising the lands between Tripoli, French West Africa, the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the northern limits of British East Africa and Uganda; a third from the latter Ugandan and British East African limits, along the eastern limits of Belgian Congo, Portuguese West Africa, German Southwest Africa, the Orange River and the Indian Ocean; a fourth by the northwestern, northern and eastern limits of the Belgian Congo, the eastern limits of Portuguese West Africa, German Southwest Africa and the Atlantic Ocean; and a fifth by the parallel of 20 de-

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gress north, the eastern limits of French West Africa and the Atlantic Ocean.

The states of Europe should be Norway, Sweden, Ireland, England, Scotland, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, Switzerland, France, Italy, Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Finland, Ukraine, Spain and Portugal. South America should be divided into the states of Venezuela, Columbia, Guiana, Ecuador, Peru, Chili, Argentine, Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil. The East Indies, the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand, Guiana, Madagascar and Iceland might have separate commonwealths, as well as groups of archipelagoes.

The attention of the entire world might be centered upon the City of Jerusalem, where the federal capital should be situated. Is it not the prophecy of old that "out of Zion shall go forth the law?" Mohametan countries, extending from Southern Europe and Africa to India and even China and Japan, would not be displeased at this result, for their religion has that of Abraham as its basis. Christian lands including nearly all of Europe and all of North and South America, as well as Australia and New Zealand, would rejoice that the place where Jesus taught should provide for a common brotherhood of man. And the Jewish people, who have been scattered everywhere and yet have retained unimpaired their yearning for separate identity, would find final proof of the fulfilment of the promises of Jehovah in the vision of the seer nearly three thousand years ago that

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their beloved Jerusalem, the city of David, in "the glorious land," should be the seat of the government of a united earth.

It would be the strength of the American people which would jealously guard and strictly uphold, until upon so stable a footing that nothing could shake it, the Republic of Man against unscrupulous and designing traitors or groups of lawless people seeking to disturb it anywhere; but the chief city should be where every state would be satisfied to have it. Newspapers the world around would receive from the wires the happenings of the day before in the metropolis. None would be so poor as to be unable to buy or so ignorant as to be unable to read the doings of that city of the future. The world of art, science, literature, music and fashion would reflect there the best thought and highest achievement of a billion and a half of human beings captivated by liberty and union.

Under the aegis of such a world dominion of universal citizenship, with every man and woman eligible to the highest dignity and with freedom of opportunity guaranteed to all, can it be questioned that there would arise a civilization surpassing any that the planet has heretofore known? Every field of human endeavor would be stimulated to great things. As in ancient Athens, the symmetrical development of body and mind would become the aim of men, and the ideal of beauty would be pursued with avidity. In industry men would bring forth the creations of their toil with less pain and sorrow

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and more enjoyment of life. Every child would be taught the dignity of labor and have his hand trained to wrest from it in maturity something useful. In education they would not fear to seek new truth in place of the pap doled out by pedants of the past or to reconfirm their belief in that found worthy. With the evolution of medical science, the temperance that would come with greater self-respect, the cleanliness of a world taught hygiene, and the distribution of more necessities and comforts by inventive skill, disease would in time be conquered. And with men learning to serve God only by serving men and seeking the unfoldment of all in a common light and happiness, might it not be almost anticipated that selfishness itself, the evil of the race, might, after many ages perhaps, die away? Nobler manhood and womanhood, it may be hoped, would secure in the great state of the future an ever-increasing number of useful and worthy lives.

If this dream seems vague and beyond the limitations of our faith, we shall find it written by the prophets of Israel in letters that will never die. It was Isaiah who said: "And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be firmly established on the tops of the mountains and shall be exalted over the hills, and unto it shall flow all the nations."¹ "And I will visit on the world its evil and on the wicked their iniquity; and I will stop the arrogance of the presumptuous, and the haughtiness of the tyrants will I tumble. I will make the mortal more precious

¹ Isaiah 2:2.

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than fine gold, and more than the valued metal of Ophir.”¹

“And it shall come to pass on that day that the Lord will visit punishment on the hosts of heaven in heaven and on the kings of the earth on the earth. And they shall be gathered in heaps as prisoners in the prison and shall be shut up in the dungeon, and thus after many days shall they be punished.”²

“And men will say on that day, lo, this is our God for whom we have waited that he would help us; this is the Lord our God for whom we have waited; we shall rejoice and we shall be glad in His salvation.”³

“And I, because of their works and their thoughts, will let it come to pass to gather all the nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory.”⁴ “There shall be no more thence an infant of a few days, nor an old man that shall not have the full length of his days; for as a lad shall one die an hundred years old; and as a sinner shall be accursed he who dieth at an hundred years old.”⁵

“The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall like the bullock eat straw: and the serpent—dust shall be his food. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord.”⁶

Jeremiah said: “The vintner’s call, as they that tread out the grapes, will he lift up against all the

¹ Isaiah 13: 11-12. ² Ibid. 24: 21-22. ³ Ibid. 25: 9. ⁴ Ibid. 66: 18.
⁵ Ibid. 65: 20. ⁶ Ibid. 65: 25.

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inhabitants of the earth. A tumultuous noise cometh out of the ends of the earth, for the Lord hath a controversy with the nations, to hold judgment over all flesh: the wicked—these he giveth up to the sword, saith the Lord.”¹ Through Ezekiel it was said: “And I will display my glory among the nations.”² This through Joel: “And it shall come to pass after this that I will pour out my spirit over all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams; your young men shall see visions; and also over the men servants and over the maid servants in those days will I pour out my spirit.”³

Micah said: “And he shall judge between many people, and decide for strong nations even afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning knives: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, and they shall not learn any more war. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree, with none to make them afraid, for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it.”⁴ Habakkuk declares: “For the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.”⁵

Zephaniah says: “Yea, then will I charge unto the people a pure language, that they may all call on the name of the Lord, to serve him with one accord.”⁶ Haggai foretells: “And I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the

¹ Jeremiah 25:30-31. ²Ezekiel 39:21. ³ Joel 3:1-2. ⁴ Micah 4:3-4. ⁵ Habakkuk 2:14. ⁶ Zephaniah 3:9.

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strength of the kingdoms of the nations; and I will overthrow chariots and those that ride in them; and the horses and the riders shall come down, every one by the sword of his brother.”¹ Zechariah proclaims: “On that day, saith the Lord of Hosts, shall ye call every man his neighbor under the vine and under the fig tree.”² “Thus hath saith the Lord of Hosts. In those days shall it happen that ten men out of all the languages of the nations shall take hold—yea, they shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.”³

David said: “He causeth wars to cease unto the ends of the earth; he breaketh the bow and cutteth the spear in pieces; he burneth wagons in the fire. Be still, and know that I am God. I will be exalted among the nations, I will be exalted on the earth.”⁴ “The mountains shall bear peace for the people, and the hills the same through righteousness.”⁵ “The Lord hath sworn and will not repent of it, Thou shalt be forever a priest after the order of Malchizedek. The Lord at thy right hand crusheth kings on the day of His wrath.”⁶ Finally through Daniel the word came: “But in the days of these kingdoms will the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall to eternity not be destroyed, and its rule shall not be transferred to any other people; but it will grind up and make an end of all these kingdoms, while it will itself endure for-

¹ Haggai 2:22. ² Zechariah 3:10. ³ Ibid. 8:23. ⁴ Psalm 46:10-11. ⁵ Ibid. 72:3. ⁶ Ibid. 110:4-5.

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ever.”¹ “Until the ancient of days came and procured justice unto the saints of the Most High; and the time came and the saints took possession of the kingdom.”

Perhaps the mystical meaning of these latter words of Daniel is that at the time of the spiritual awakening of mankind to simple righteousness after the establishment of freedom, equality of opportunity and complete tolerance on the earth, under the government of the Republic of Man, those minds that have most served the Most High during the centuries in which they have appeared in life to do his work and lead the world nearer and nearer to obedience to Him, will one after the other be recognized for their abilities and character and be lifted by their fellowmen to the highest place of responsibility on the planet as President of the Federation of the World. It may be true that as they have been enabled to achieve by inspiration in the past, so will they be guided by the will of the Eternal in the future.

These may be meant by Zechariah when he said: “I saw this night, and behold there was a man riding upon a red horse, and he was standing among the myrtle trees in the deep valley; and behind them were red, pale and white horses. And I said, What are these O my Lord? Then said the angel that spoke with me, I will show thee what these are. And the man that stood among the myrtle trees answered and said, These are they who the Lord hath sent to traverse the earth. And they answered the

¹ Daniel 2:44.

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angel of the Lord that stood among the myrtle trees and said, We have traversed the earth, and behold *all the earth is inhabited quietly and is at rest.*"¹

It may be possible that reincarnated century after century they do the work of the Eternal. In such a process it would be but natural for their abilities and personality to remain the same. Each would then only become more trained for his respective task. Maybe they perform the wonders they do because more subject to the guidance of the Creator. They may also have been meant by Zechariah in the words:² "And the angel that spoke with me came back again, and waked me up, as a man that is awakened up out of his sleep; and he said unto me, What art thou seeing? And I said, I have looked and behold there is a candlestick all of gold, with a bowl upon its top, and its seven lamps are thereupon, and seven pipes to the seven lamps which are upon the top; and two olive trees are upon it, one upon the right side of the bowl and the other upon the left side thereof. And I commenced and said unto the angel that spoke with me, saying what are these, O my Lord? Then the angel that spoke with me answered and said unto me, Knowest thou not what these are? And I said, No, my Lord.

"Then answered he and spoke unto me, saying, Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts. Who art thou, O great mountain, before Zerubbabel (the anointed) thou wilt become a plain; and he shall bring forth the head-

¹ Zechariah 1:8-11. ² Zechariah 4.

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stones with shoutings of Grace, grace unto it. And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundations of this house, and his hands shall complete it; and thou shalt know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent me unto you. For whoever even despised the day of its small beginning; yet will they rejoice when they see the plummet in the hands of Zerubbabel with those seven; they are the eyes of the Lord which hold a survey through all the earth. And I began and said unto him, What are these two olive branches on the right side of the candlestick, which are close by the two golden pipes which empty out of themselves the gold colored oil? And he said to me as followeth, knowest thou not what these are? And I said, No, my Lord. Then said he, These are the two sons of the clear oil that stand by the Lord of the whole earth." The oil may be symbolical of the truth. On the throne of grace, as it is called in Daniel, maybe these characters will dispense divine leadership to the world.

For such a new and glorious dispensation it is the task of the United States to prepare, with the help of God. Who but the Almighty put the idea into the brain of Columbus that lying afar off across the western waters was land to be found? Who gave him the intense longing when a boy for the sea? Who subdued the Aztecs with the same rod of iron with which they had slaughtered their victims at the sacrifice? Who practically exterminated the savage Indians, who with fiendish cruelty, depravity and lust had been attacking each

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other from time immemorial as they later tomahawked the white men, burned their houses and attacked their wives? Who prepared this land between the two great oceans and then led to it the lovers of liberty and despisers of hardship of every people? Who inspired the simple but intrepid spirit of George Washington?

Who guided the fathers of the Republic when they met in Philadelphia to deliberate upon a constitution, especially when Benjamin Franklin arose, after a deadlock in the debate, and asked light from the Bestower of Blessings? Who led the kindly soul of Abraham Lincoln in the dark days of the war which was to determine whether this country was to become altogether free and unified so as to be potential enough in the hereafter to give liberty to all men? When another and different crisis arose, who brought forward Grover Cleveland to stand like a rock in a weary land against attempts by sophists to repudiate the financial credit of the nation? In the time of the Spanish war who guided the noble and patient McKinley to fight for liberty and honor?

When there was need to curb organized wealth and restimulate the conscience of the people, who brought forth a Theodore Roosevelt, a great reformer? When constitutional guarantees needed safeguarding who produced a William H. Taft? Who inspired a Woodrow Wilson to give new impetus to democracy? Who will bring another man when the necessity for him arises? Who has built the nation and will guide it through all the years?

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None but the Living God! None but His omnipotent hand has fashioned this mighty land,

“Here, where freedom’s equal throne
To all her valiant sons is known;
Where all are conscious of her cares,
And each the power that rules him shares.”¹

The American people should realize that they cannot enjoy the benefits of their institutions long if they do not prepare for their destiny to give those institutions to all mankind. If they do not do their duty in exertion to the utmost to expend their treasure, train all their youth for military service and sacrifice life abundantly in battles on land and sea, they will be deprived of their own liberty as punishment. If they do so exert themselves, train all and are willing to sacrifice all, they will be rewarded by receiving the honor and the glory of accomplishing more for humanity than any people since the world began. This they should do because of their unrivaled wealth of manhood and womanhood, spirit, farm, factory and mine. They should awaken to the greatest crusade that the ages have known, not to free a cross and a sepulcher, but all mankind; to make the entire race brothers and sisters, not in a monastery or nunnery, but under God.

They should not cease from their toil, their sorrow and pain, their hazardous undertakings in the face of pitiful bleatings from copperheads and

¹ Akenside, “Odes.”

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pacifists, their grief for the sons, fathers and brothers slain in the fight, their putting every hazard to the gruelling test of iron and steel and blood, their triumphant shouts of victory which are the rewards of complete effacement for the accomplishment of a grand ideal, their continual giving birth to patriots who will, like Nathan Hale, regret that they have but one life to give for their country, their striving through stress and storm for every spiritual light and material means to bring the common end, their seeking through comradeship and altruism for the righteousness of the race,

“Till the war drum throbs no longer and the battle flags are furled

In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,

And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.”¹

The promises of God are always kept. As He spoke through the sages of the ages, through inspired minds from David and Isaiah to Kant and Napoleon, so shall it be. The noble vision they foresaw no longer seems a weird and unlikely dream. It already appears dimly but certainly upon the horizon as a practicable accomplishment.

¹ Tennyson, “In Memorium.”

CHAPTER XIII

GENIUS FOR THE TASK

"Ah God for a man with heart, head, hand,
Like some of the simple great ones gone
Forever and ever by.
One still strong man in a blatant land,
Whatever they call him, what care I,
Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat—one
Who can rule and dare not lie."

EVERY nation which has a stupendous labor to perform produces a preëminent personality to do it. The mightier the nation and the task the greater the man seems to be to those who come after him. The United States, having before it the superlatively momentous work of history, will in time give to the world the figure best equipped for it.

Leadership is as essential to the development of humanity as vitality. As the spirit guides the body, so intelligence rules the earth. Genius is a combination of past experience and inspiration. History is the sum of the work of human genius, of those inspired minds throughout the ages who have advanced the cause of mankind. They in all lands and climes have been guided intuitively by the infinite intelligence of God. The sublime deeds of life are done by individual men who are the servants of the Most High.

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Moses, Samuel, Isaiah and David in Israel, Rameses and Thetmosis III in Egypt, Alexander in Greece, Cæsar in Rome, Hannibal in Carthage, Mahomet and Harun in the Caliphate, Buddha in India, Confucius in China, Zoroaster in Media, Justinian in the Byzantine Empire, Charlemagne in Francia, Columbus in Italy, Magellan in Portugal, Cortez in Spain, Charles V in Austria, Peter in Russia, the elder and younger Pitt in England, Napoleon in France, Frederick the Great and Bismarck in Germany, Washington and Lincoln in America are among the achievers of all time who have advanced humanity step by step to greater things.

Praxiteles, Lysippus, Pheidias, Polyclitus, Damophon, Michelangelo, Piasno, Cellini, Bartolome, Berini, Gavnova, Houdon, Gilbert, St. Gaudens and Rodin in sculpture; Scopus, Cossotus, Vetruvius, Mucius, Rabirius, Ristori, Pontelli, Anthemus, Isidorus, Bramante, Wren, Michelozzo, Inigo Jones, Steindl, Wallot, Barry, Visconti and White in architecture; Polygrotus, Micon, Panænus, Zeuxis, Parthasius, Protogenes, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Rubens, Rembrandt, Velesquez, Van Dyck, Henner and La Farge in painting; Hippocrates, Galen, Theophrastus, Herophilus, Erasistratus, Isaac Ben Emran, Rhases, Avicenna, Kalid, Valentine, Priestly, Lavoisier, Lister, Virchow, Welch and Osler in medicine; Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Ptolemy, Kepler, Copernicus, Newcombe in astronomy; Euclid, Newton and Leibnitz in mathematics; Archimedes, Hero, Gutenberg, Whitney, Stevenson,

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Fulton, Bell and Edison in invention; Magellan, Vasco da Gama, Cook, Hudson and Peary in discovery; Othman, Albertus Magnus, Humboldt and Darwin in scientific investigation; Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Bruno, Kant, Descartes, Spinoza and Comte in philosophy; Tertullian, Augustine and Luther in religious reform; Homer, Pindar, Hesoid, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Montagne, Shakespeare, Lope de Vega, Moliere, Corneille, Voltaire, Rousseau, Hugo, Dickens, Tolstoy and Poe in literature; Demosthenes, Cicero, Pitt, Ranke, Mommsen and Motley in historical composition; Hammurabi, Moses, Solon, Lycurgus, Justinian, Charlemagne, Gregory VII, Napoleon, Langton, Cromwell, Hamilton and Bismarck in justice; Tribonian, Papinian, Thomasius and Grotius in legalism; Dana, Greeley and Bennett in journalism; Epaminondas, Don Juan, Tromp, Drake, Nelson and Dewey in naval warfare; Cræsus, Crassus, the Fuggers, the Rothschilds and some of the American financial geniuses have made their indelible imprint upon the life of man.

They and those like them, individuals all, have brought humanity down to date. Sweep away those who have labored and struggled singly in leadership of their fellows throughout historic life on the planet and man is again under a tree in the forest, subsisting on the line of least resistance. And without the individual help of those good women who have been the wives and mothers of the world, as well as those inspired feminine characters who

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have assisted in the leadership of mankind, such as Semiramis, Cleopatra, Zenobia, Brunhilda, Isabella, Catherine, Elizabeth and Joan de Arc, there would be but a verdant nature on an unthinkable earth. All these mighty spirits, added to the conquerors and statesmen, have fashioned the world we live in, wresting something new in government, thought or material out of old conditions to make them better.

Vitality, determination, opportunity and inspiration provide the means by which the great men of the earth perform their deeds. They spring forward for each occasion and seem to have been created for it. In moments of supreme decision they appear to see more clearly than others what should be done and advance toward accomplishment with assurance. Through boyhood and youth they give evidence of uncommon and preternatural precocity. They understand problems pertaining to activities in which they engage as though they had had long experience in them. Their companions and associates, even in youth, are forced to give way to their asserted genius. As they grow older a glamor attaches to them. Men delight to know and follow them.

"Sword and staff, or talents sword-like or staff-like carry on the work of the world," says Emerson. This is due in large measure to the fact that they utter the truth lying as a germ in the mind of all and thereby convince, or by the magnitude of their operations attain success, but also to that indefinable something we call personality. In times

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of stress they realize themselves and express that which is the nature of their being in deeds. It is then that clearest inspiration comes to them. They feel innately that certain things are or should be so. This is direct or immediate intuition.

Millions had seen apples fall, but when Isaac Newton did so he perceived the law of gravitation. Martin Luther said: "I do not know where my ideas come from." Napoleon said: "No great general ever profited by experience in war." His rivals said of him that he possessed an uncanny intuition on the battlefield. At twenty-four Cavour wrote that he already saw himself minister of the Kingdom of Italy. Mommsen says of Cæsar that "his remarkable power of intuition revealed itself in the precision and practicality of all his arrangements, even when he gave orders without having seen with his own eyes."¹ Xenophon says of Socrates: "If it appeared to him that a sign from heaven had been given him, nothing would have induced him to go against the heavenly warning: he would as soon have been persuaded to accept the guidance of a blind man ignorant of the path to lead him on a journey in place of one who knew the road and could see; and so he denounced the folly of others who did things contrary to the warnings in order to avoid some disrepute among men. For himself he despised all human aid by comparison with counsel from above." Socrates said of a conviction that "this came to me apart from demonstration."² The prophets of Israel ages ago fore-

¹ "History of Rome," Vol. IV, p. 424. ² Phaedo.

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saw by this process what would come to pass in the hereafter. So far each one of their visions capable of fulfillment up to the present has been realized. All of them will be in time.

It is not without the pale of human consciousness to realize that God is infinite intelligence, infinite individuality, infinite personality. As man is in spirit finitely, so God is infinitely. He is the Most High, the Almighty, Lord of Hosts and King of Kings. He alone rules the universe. Force and molecular energy but operate under his own laws. The Everlasting One, the Eternal, holds within Himself all natures and things and the minutæ of worlds. Nothing is hidden from Him. His will it is that rules the destinies of men; for, although He grants free will, He inspires those who obey Him. Jehovah in the perfection of His intelligence has knowledge of the mental processes and bodily activities of each man, woman and child. The most penetrating intellect oftentimes only reflects His desire. His is the divine plan for the world. Is not this revealed in the beautiful symbol of Nebuchadnezzar, brought low and forced to eat the grass of the field in order that he might see in his fallen pride, as Daniel said, that the rule of the Most High is over every generation?

As men through hardship and struggle are broken to humility and the realization that they may gain inner light and happiness solely through kindness, mercy and simplicity, they are brought in harmony with and therefore nearer to that apperception by

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which they find surcease from difficulty and restoration of soul. Augustine, turning from his "fill of hell" and "fog of lustfulness," as he termed them in his *Confessions*, to the contemplation and work of the Living God, became the light of a thousand years. As one can see the stars in the daytime only from the bottom of a well, he may behold the truth more clearly in the adversity which brings sorrow and unselfishness into his heart. This is true of Saint Francis of Assisi and that royal line of mystics who have discerned love of God in love of man.

The truly great have ever been as simple as Lincoln. In themselves they were not great. They merely seemed so. They were enabled to do remarkable things by their own initiative and that inspiration and kindness which the Lord God vouchsafed to them. "If God is with a man he cannot fail; if He is against him he cannot succeed," said the leader born in a log cabin in Kentucky, who was given the task of freeing the slaves and saving the Republic. Before every battle the mild and sensitive Washington, the "father of his country," knelt in prayer. Alfred of England, one of the noblest characters of human story and born to help lay the foundations of a state, said: "As long as I have lived I have striven to live worthily." He longed when death should overtake him to leave with the men who came after him a remembrance of him in good works. Canute, when told by his courtiers that he might accomplish anything, by taking his seat by the ocean and commanding the tide to turn

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back proved that he by his own power could do nothing.

Men in his day thought the doings of Joshua so unusual that they humorously declared he commanded the sun and moon to stand still and that they obeyed, but those orbs of night and day heedlessly continued their revolutions while he, a simple warrior, did the work God had given him. Martin Luther before deciding to face the diet at Worms, where his life was endangered, in an upper room found in prayer that light which told him he was to go, no matter what might be the outcome. Socrates was scolded by his wife because he persisted in arguing daily in order that he and his companions might find truth. When he "with gaiety welcomed death's embrace and discharged life's debt,"¹ the victim of having taught simple righteousness in opposition to the formalism of the time, his wife and children were there to bid him good-bye, for they had loved him and he had loved them. Yet he was the father of philosophy. He fought as a hoplite for his native land and was an intrepid soldier.

Charlemagne sought learning like the humblest scholar at his court, attending school there when late in life. His favorite book, the *City of God* was always near him. Otto the Great in the same way invited the learned to his capital. Alexander of Macedon was the most companionable man in his army, and was great only in his love of glory and

¹ Xenophon.

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accomplishment of it. This may also be said of Cæsar and Napoleon.

When the first of the Romans was about to cross the Rubicon and combat Pompey for control of the Empire he strode up and down for some time, undecided as to the course to take. Then it suddenly *came to him* what was best and he cast the die which was to lead to civil strife and a vaster Rome. Men-eval says ¹ of the French Emperor that "he began to dictate in a serious and emphatic tone, without resting for a moment. *As inspiration came to him* his voice assumed a more animated tone. In rendering his thought expressions came without effort."

Filson Young relates ² of Columbus that "there *gradually grew up in his mind the intuition or conviction*—I refuse to call it an opinion—that over that blue verge of the west there was land to be found. How this seed of conviction first lodged in his mind it would be impossible to say." "As that other mystery began to grow in his mind, and that idea of worlds that might lie beyond the sea line began to take shape in his thoughts, he found in the holy wisdom of the prophets and the inspired writings of the fathers a continual confirmation of his faith."

Andrew D. White says ³ of Bismarck that "*his insight and foresight seemed due to intuition*—to sudden flashes which lighted up his course and determined his conduct." It is this same Bismarck

¹ "Memoires," Vol. I, p. 420. ² "Christopher Columbus," Vol. I, p. 76. ³ "Seven Great Statesmen," p. 418.

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who in one of his letters to his wife says: "Good-night, my dear. It strikes twelve. I will go to bed and read yet the second chapter of Saint Peter. I do this now systematically, and after I have finished Peter I am going to read the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is no need of reminding me to remember our dear little Mary in my prayers. I do so every day."

Oliver states¹ of Alexander Hamilton that he was like a boy who had dreamed a dream but could not prevail with men to accept it in all its glorious symmetry; that he sought power, not as an end in itself but as a means to the accomplishment of a *vision*.

Cromwell declared he left Cambridge with a purpose of self-dedication "to that same lot, however mean or high toward which time leads me and the will of heaven." Yet it was this same leader of the British state who had said: "Oh, I lived in and loved darkness and hated light. I hated godliness."² Mrs. Gladstone confided in John Morley that the Great Commoner succeeded in the struggle for self-mastery "ever since he was three or four and twenty, first by the natural power of his character, and second by incessant wrestling in prayer—prayer that had been abundantly answered."³ David, kindly warrior and king of Israel, said: "The Lord is my strength and my shield; in Him hath my heart trusted and I am helped."⁴ "The sins of my youth and my transgressions do not re-

¹ "Alexander Hamilton," by F. C. Oliver, p. 12. ² "History of the English People," by J. R. Green, pp. 436-7. ³ "Life of Gladstone," Vol. I, p. 189. ⁴ Psalm 28: 7.

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member.¹ How precious are unto me thy thoughts, O God! I awaken and I am still with thee.”² Jesus felt he had a mission to perform. He spoke of the will of God as supreme and aimed to set aside ceremonial tradition. Paul saw the vision of a more glorified humanity and thenceforth lived for his fellowmen.³ These are some of “the simple great ones, gone forever and ever by.”

It was because they were simple that they saw and were helped by God. Insight came to them because they sought His will. Consciously or unconsciously, they placed themselves in harmony with the Infinite Intelligence. “If the body has many attributes of higher value than pleasure,” says Cicero, “what, pray, think you of the mind? The wisest sages of antiquity believed that the mind contains an element of the celestial and divine.”⁴ Says Marcus Aurelius: “God is in man, and so we must constantly attend to the divinity within us, for it is only in this way that we can have any knowledge of the nature of God.” And Agapetus: “He who knows himself will know God; and he who knows God will be made like to God; and he will be made like to God who has become worthy of God; and he becomes worthy who does nothing unworthy of God, but thinks the things that are His and speaks what He thinks and does what He speaks.”

Isaiah says: “The Lord Eternal hath given me a tongue for teaching, that I should know how to strengthen the weary with the word. He wakeneth

¹ Psalm 25:7. ² Psalm 139:18. ³ I Cor. 15. ⁴ De Finibus, II, 114.

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morning by morning, He wakeneth my ear to listen like those that are well taught.”¹ Jeremiah: “Be not afraid of them; for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord. And the Lord stretched forth His hand and touched me therewith on my mouth; and the Lord said unto me, Behold I have put my words in thy mouth.”² Ezekiel: “And He said unto me, Son of man, all my words that I will speak unto thee receive in thy heart and hear them with thy ears.”³ And David: “With Thee is the source of life; in Thy light shall we see light.”⁴ “Who shall be able to stand in His holy place? He that is clean of hands and pure of heart.”⁵

“Happy are they,” says Augustine, “who know it was Thou that gave the command. For all things are done by them that serve Thee, either for the providing of themselves of what is needful for the present, or for the foreshadowing of something to come hereafter.”⁶ Thomas A Kempis pleads: “Seek for thyself a secret place, love to dwell alone with thyself, desire the conversation of none; but rather pour out devout prayer unto God, that thou mayest keep thy mind in compunction and thy conscience pure.”⁷ St. Bernard says: “To lose thyself in some sort, as if thou wert not, and to have no consciousness of thyself at all—to be emptied of thyself and be almost annihilated—such is heavenly conversation—so to be affected is to become God.”⁸

Smiles remarks: “Good sense, disciplined by

¹ Isaiah 50: 4. ² Jeremiah 1: 8-9. ³ Ezekiel 3: 10. ⁴ Psalm 36: 10.
⁵ Psalm 24: 3-4. ⁶ “Confessions,” 3: 9. ⁷ “Imitation of Christ,”
LIII. ⁸ “On Loving God.”

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practical experience and inspired by goodness, issues in practical wisdom. Indeed, goodness in a measure implies wisdom—the highest wisdom—the union of the worldly with the spiritual.”¹ Devendranath Tagore in his autobiography relates: “From now I began to train myself to listen to His command, to understand the difference between my own inclinations and His will. What seemed to be the insidious promptings of my own desires I was careful to avoid; and what appeared to my conscience to be His command, that I tried to follow. Then I prayed to Him to inspire me with righteousness, to guard me with moral strength, to give me patience, courage, fortitude and contentment. I could make out that He was dwelling within me, seated within my heart. Even as He, dwelling in the sky, guides the stars and planets, so does He, dwelling within my heart, inspire all my righteous feelings and guide my soul.”

In the Upanishads this is found: “We salute Thee, spirit of truth and cause of this universe. We salute Thee, essence of wisdom and upholder of all that is. Thou art the bestower of salvation and only God, the one without a second; eternal and all-pervading Brahma, we salute Thee.” Says the Zend Avesta: “O maker of the material world, Thou holy one! Which is the first place where the earth feels most happy? Azura Mazda answered: ‘It is the place whereon one of the faithful steps forward, O Spitama Zarathustra!’ ” The *Dhammapada* or “Path to Virtue” of Buddhism de-

¹ “Character,” p. 19.

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clares: "The virtuous man is happy in this world and he is happy in the next. He is happy when he thinks of the good he has done. He is still more happy when going on the good path. When the learned man drives away vanity by earnestness, he, the wise, climbs the terraced heights of wisdom. All that we are is the result of our thoughts; it is founded on our thoughts; it is made up of our thoughts. A supernatural person (a Buddha) is not easily found. He is not born everywhere. Wherever such a sage is born, that race prospers."

Mahomet in the Koran asks: "Dost thou not know that unto God belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth? Neither have ye any protector or helper except God." Confucius stated that man's life was from God. The harmonious acting out of it was obedience to the will of the Most High, and the violation of it was disobedience. He intimated that he had a mission from heaven and until it was accomplished he was safe from all attempts to injure him. Jesus said: "My Father, He it is that doeth the work." Moses commanded: "Hear, O Israel! The Lord, our God, is the one eternal being. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might. And thou shalt do that which is right and good in the eyes of the Lord, in order that it may be well with thee." Gideon said: "I shall not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you." It was said of Daniel that he excelled all the presidents and lieutenants in the kingdom of Babylon because a superior spirit was in

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him, and that no manner of hurt was found on him because he had trusted in his God.

Among philosophers Kant expressed the view that he who is permeated by the moral law is therefore obliged to believe in the existence of God. Practical reason, he says, thus leads us to entertain convictions concerning something which lies beyond the limits defined by the theoretical reason. Bruno, in a larger sense than is generally appreciated, the founder of modern philosophy, is convinced that the Deity works at the heart of the world and is to be found at every point; that the highest is everywhere, if only our mind is open to it.

"Heaven," said Jacob Bohme three hundred years ago, "is not up there in the sky, but it is here, within thyself where the divine life stirs within thee. God is not far; thou livest in God and God in thee, and if thou art pure and holy, then thou art God." Descartes said: "The natural light teaches us that the effect cannot contain more than is the cause. It follows from this that nothing can come out of nothing, and that the perfect cannot proceed from the imperfect. If we apply this to our ideas it becomes clear that some of them arise from external causes, while others must be explained as arising within us. But neither of these explanations is sufficient to make the idea of God as the infallible being, the essence of all perfection and reality, comprehensible. Since I myself am a finite being (and of this I am convinced by my

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doubts and my desires) I cannot have produced any such idea. Neither can it have arisen by any combination of particular, perceived perceptions, for it would not then contain the unity and indivisibility which are the marks of the idea of God. Moreover, every external cause is finite. There is, therefore, nothing left but to suppose that God Himself is the author of the idea." And again: "Every transition of thought takes place through immediate perception, i.e., intuition."

Hoffding says that "Spinoza aims at nothing less than the highest result of all knowledge, viz. the most intimate union possible of individuality with continuity, of the particular with the sum of constant relations. He only succeeds in this when postulating an intuition which reminds us now of the artist's conception, now of the mystic's vision." Schopenhauer says: "It is possible in certain cases for knowledge to escape from the bondage of the will, at which time the individuality of man is canceled and he becomes entirely absorbed in disinterested contemplation. This revolution and emancipation, in which the will disappears and pure perception has the upper hand, can only be explained as a sudden breaking forth of the faculty of intuition."

Bergson is the latest of the modern philosophers to develop the idea of intuition. Hoffding remarks¹ of the French philosopher that he is obscure with regard to the relation between intuition as a psychological condition and intuition as a con-

¹ "Modern Philosophers," by Harold Hoffding, p. 241.

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clusion of thought. Yet he has given great impetus to reflection upon the subject. For my own part, I am constrained to believe that no new truth is ever added to the thought of the world except by immediate intuition; that is, by realization without demonstration. Empirical investigation assists by concentration of cognition in the discovery of hypotheses before unknown, whether in invention, science or pure reason, but does not in itself disclose that which is discovered, which comes to one suddenly and intuitively. Inductive and deductive principles as applied to experience only prove that which is already known.

John Stuart Mill's view that all false ideas and tendencies within the ethical, religious and social spheres are invincible so long as the assertion is allowed to pass unchallenged that truths can be gained by immediate intuition, by way of pure thought, independently of experience and observation, is to be answered by the fact that if the conclusion is not afterwards probable on grounds of experience and right reason, inductively and deductively, it is not an intuition at all.

It was such an intuitive message of the indwelling spirit that told Abraham he would become the father of many nations. It was such a spiritual light that came to Bil'am when he said of Jacob: "I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh, there steppeth forth a star out of Jacob and there ariseth a scepter out of Israel."¹ "There shall

¹ Numbers 24:17.

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rule the one from Jacob," the prophet concludes. It was the living God who spoke through Zechariah as follows: "Behold a man, Sprout is his name, since *out of his own place* shall he sprout up, even he shall build the temple of the Lord. Yea, he shall build the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne."¹

It was this divine intuition, this reflection of the mind of God, that enabled David, who from shepherd boy became king of Israel, to perceive that he would live again and become the ruler of the world. By the Divine Mind it was said: "I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him, with my hand shall he be firmly established; also my arm shall strengthen him. Also I will appoint him my first born, *the highest among the kings of the earth.*" "My son art thou," was said of David. "Ask it of me and I will give thee nations for an inheritance, and for thy possession *the uttermost ends of the earth.*"² "The spirit of the Lord came suddenly upon David from that day and forward."³

"And David felt conscious that the Lord had established him as king over Israel."⁴ "When thy days shall be completed, and thou wilt sleep with thy fathers, then will I set up thy seed after thee, who will proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He it is that shall build a house for my name, and I will establish his kingdom forever."⁵ "Thou hast also spoken of thy ser-

¹ Zechariah 6:12-13. ² Psalm 2:7-8. ³ I Samuel 16:13. ⁴ II Samuel 5:12. ⁵ Ibid., 7:12-13.

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vant's house *for a distant time.*"¹ "And then the king, who was a simple man though a conqueror, again may have reflected the intuition of the Most High when he said: "Thou preservest me to be the head of nations, *a people which I know not shall serve me.*"² "The spirit of the Lord spoke through me and his word was upon my tongue. Thus said the God of Israel, concerning me spake the Rock of Israel, that I should be ruler over men, be righteous, ruling in the fear of God."³ It was this same kind of a voice that said to Daniel: "But thou, go thy way toward the end; and thou shall rest and rise again for thy lot at the end of the days."

If a man's ambition is his intuitive perception of what he may become if he will, the thought of Alexander the Great that he must conquer and govern the world was as inspired as that of David. Mommson says: "Cæsar renewed the interrupted work of the great Alexander whose image we may well believe never was absent from Cæsar's soul. In the capital of his empire he regulated the destinies of the world for the present and the future." The Emperor Julian remarks:⁴ "Nor do I despise that lot with which I was myself endowed by the God Helios, that I should be born of a house that rules and governs the world in my time."

Gibbon says of Jinghis Kahn that "he accepted the title of Jinghis, the most great, and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the earth."

¹ II Samuel 7: 19. ² Ibid., 22: 44. ³ Daniel 12: 13. ⁴ Loeb ed., Vol. I, p. 355.

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The British historian also declares that "the conquest and monarchy of the world was the first object of the ambition of Timur." Gregory VII felt that he had been entrusted by God with the task of uniting all mankind in a single society in which His will would be the only law. This was also the thought of Boniface VIII. Charles XII longed to emulate Alexander. Turenne most admired the exploits of the Greek conqueror and of Julius Cæsar. So did Napoleon, who in his exile at St. Helena said that the grand ideal toward which his efforts had been directed was a great confederacy of peoples, bound together "by unity of codes, principles, opinions, feelings and interests." He prophesied that it would yet be realized, sooner or later, "by the force of circumstances."¹

If these figures of the past had the same intuitive perception of destiny, may not the reason for this be that they were the same spirit, born again from life to life, showing quite naturally the same mighty talents and aspirations? May it not be, preposterous as it seems because new to our thought, that the line of David and Daniel, who saw themselves returning in another age, is as follows: David, Sheshonk, Shalmonesser II, Sargon, Psammeticus I, Daniel, Miltiades, Alcibiades, Alexander the Great, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Hannibal, Mithradates I, Julius Cæsar, Tiberius, Trajan, Septimus Severus, Aurelian, Maximin, Julian, Attila, Justinian, Heracleus, Leo the Isaurian, Harun al Raschid, Alfred, Hugh the Great, Canute, Gregory VII, Al-

¹ "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. X, p. 1.

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phonso VII, Jinghis Kahn, Boniface VIII, Timur, Casimir IV, Suleiman the Magnificent, Turenne, Charles XII and Napoleon?

This might, then, be the meaning of the words: "The throne of David will be established before the world forever." As the Living God said through the prophet Nathan: "When thy days will be completed and when thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, then will I set up thy seed after thee, who shall proceed out of thy body, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. I, too, will be to him as a father and he shall indeed be to me as a son; so that when *he* committeth iniquity I will chastise *him* with the rod of men and with the plagues of the children of men; but my kingdom shall not depart from *him*, as I caused it to depart from Saul, whom I removed from before thee; thy throne shall be established forever."

When he heard this it is related that "then went King David in and sat down before the Lord, and he said, What am I, O Lord Eternal? and what is my house, that Thou hast brought me as far as hitherward? And this was yet too small a thing in Thy eyes, O Lord Eternal; and Thou hast spoken also of Thy servant's house for *a distant time*. And is this the desert of man, O Lord Eternal? And what can David add yet more to speak unto Thee? Since Thou, O Lord Eternal, knowest well Thy servant. For the sake of Thy servant, and in accordance with Thy own heart, hast Thou done all this great thing, *so as to let Thy servant know it.*" Before David was king of Israel he may also have been Joshua,

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Jacob and Abraham. He may also have been Tig-lath Pileser I, Rameses II, Amenhotep III, Thet-mosis III, Hammurabi, Gudea and many another great leader of men.

This may be he of whom it was said through Isaiah: "And there shall be founded through kindness a throne and there shall sit upon it in truthfulness *in the tent of David* a judge who seeketh justice and is quick in righteousness." This may be he of whom the same prophet said: "And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stem of Jesse, and a sprout shall spring up out of his roots. And there shall rest upon him the spirit of the Lord, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord." This may be he of whom the great prophet of the eighth century also said: "Behold, for a lawgiver unto the people have I appointed him, a prince and a commander of the people. Behold *a nation thou knowest not* shalt thou call, and a nation *that knew thee not* shall run after thee."

It may be he of whom it was said: "And I let come forth out of Jacob a seed, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains; and my elect shall inherit it and my servants shall dwell there." It may be he of whom Jeremiah spoke when he said: "Behold days are coming when I will raise up unto David a righteous sprout, and he shall reign as king and prosper, and he shall execute justice and righteousness on the earth." And it may be he alone that Micah foresaw when he declared: "But thou, Beth-

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lehem Ephratah, the least though thou be among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee there shall come forth unto me that is to be ruler of Israel, *whose origin is from olden times, from most ancient days.* Therefore will he be given up until the time that she who travaileth hath brought forth, then shall the remnant of his brethren return with the children of Israel. And he shall stand forward and feed Israel through the strength of the Lord, through the excellency of the name of the Lord his God; and they shall abide safely; *for now shall he be great even unto the ends of the earth."*

It may be he of whom it was said: "Out of him cometh forth the corner stone, out of him the tent nail, out of him the battle bow, out of him every ruler of others together. And they shall be like mighty men, treading down their enemies in the mire of the streets in the battle, and they shall fight because the Lord is with them, and the riders on horses shall be made ashamed." Malachi speaks: "Behold I will send my messenger and he shall clear out the way before me; and suddenly will come to his temple the Lord whom ye seek and the messenger of the covenant whom ye desire, for behold he is coming, saith the Lord of Hosts." And also: "There shall rise unto you that fear my name the sun of righteousness with healing in his wings." "It shall happen on that day," says Isaiah, "that he of the root of Jesse who shall stand as an ensign of the people, *to him shall nations come to inquire,* and his resting place shall be glorious."

The Old Testament seers are perhaps the first

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to lay down the principle of everlasting life, but they have had many successors. Socrates, greatest of teachers of free Athens, said that death was only the separation of the soul from the body; that the intelligence is soul, like the Divine Mind, and both are immortal; that we recollect afterwards things which we acquired before our birth; that "if the soul exists before birth and when it comes into life and is born from anything else than death and a state of death, must it not also exist after dying, since it must be born again?" "These souls," he says, "flit about until, through the desire of the corporeal which clings to them, they are again imprisoned in a body." And again: "God and the principle of life and everything that is immortal can never perish. The soul being immortal is also imperishable."

Aristotle says: "Now, though only one of the powers of the soul, intellect alone of these powers has no bodily organ; it alone is immortal; it alone is divine." In the Upanishads, seven centuries before Jesus, Death answers Nachiketas: "The knowing self is not born; it dies not; it sprang from nothing; nothing sprang from it. The ancient is unborn, eternal, everlasting; he is not killed though the body is killed. If the slayer thinks that he slays, or if the slain thinks he is slain, they do not understand, for this one does not slay nor is that one slain." "There can be no question," says Professor Pratt,¹ "that the belief in immortality is much

¹ "India and Its Faiths," by J. B. Pratt, p. 105

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stronger and much more prevalent in India than it is in Europe or America. Almost everyone accepts it, takes it as a matter of course and plans his life in reference to it." Philo of Alexandria before Christian thought had perfected itself and Giordano Bruno in later times attested to the same belief. Hume says: "Metempsychosis is the only system of immortality that philosophy can hearken to."

Bulwer opines: "Eternity may be but an endless series of those migrations which men call deaths, abandonments of home after home, even to fairer scenes and loftier heights. Age after age the spirit may shift his tent, fated not to death in the dull Elysium of the heathen but carrying with it overmore its two attributes, activity and energy." And Schopenhauer makes this statement: "We find the doctrine of metempsychosis springing from the earliest and noblest ages of the human race, and always spread abroad on the earth as the belief of the great majority of mankind." What is true in the nature of things is for all. This is Isaiah's meaning when he declares: "The Lord of Hosts . . . will destroy on this mountain the face of the covering which covereth all the nations. He will destroy death to eternity; and the Lord Eternal will wipe away the tear from off all faces; and the shame of his people will He remove from off the earth; for the Lord hath spoken it."

The character and genius of those mentioned as of the possible line of David, who may have been

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reborn from life to life, are the same. The mightiest conquerors by talent for movement of troops in the mass, consummate statesmen by being builders of unity and order, lawgivers by condensation of code and dispensers of justice, writers and even orators when the need required it, simple men gifted with practical sense, they, or, more properly speaking he, may last have seen earthly expression in Napoleon. In each life the contour of the face—the soul's mark of its individuality—is the same. Potentially, the personal characteristics in each case are similar.

When he became selfish and cruel he was punished. "I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him, with whom my hand shall be firmly established; also my right arm shall strengthen him. He will call upon me, Thou art my father, my God and the rock of my salvation. Also I will appoint him my first born, the highest among the kings of the earth. *Forevermore* will I keep for *him* my kindness, and my covenant shall stand faithfully with *him*. And I appoint forever his seed, and his throne as the days of heaven. If his children forsake my law and walk not in my ordinances; if they profane my statutes and keep not my commandments; then will I visit with the rod their transgressions and with plagues their iniquity. Nevertheless my kindness will I not make utterly void from him, and I will not act falsely against my faithfulness. I will not profane my covenant and what is gone out of my lips will I not alter. One thing have I sworn by my holiness, that I will not

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lie unto David. His seed shall endure forever, and his throne shall be like the sun before me."

The French Emperor was not unlike Alexander and Cæsar. Alfred and Canute were not dissimilar to David. It may have been the same intuitive knowledge that God was with him that led David with his sling to approach the giant Goliath with his sword and armor and say, "Thou comest unto me with a sword and with a spear and with a javelin, but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of the arrays of Israel, that thou hast defied," and that led Napoleon, upon returning to France as an outlaw and with the armies of Louis XVIII and Europe against him, to open his coat to the soldiers who had been ordered to fire upon him and exclaim, "Shoot your Emperor!" It was the same love of learning that animated Ptolemy II, Harun, Julian, Alexander, Tiberius and Bonaparte in Egypt. And it was the same determination, courage and daring that carried Cæsar through his trial with the pirates, led Psammeticus to a united kingdom and so many times stood David in good stead. The Roman conqueror did not finally resort to arms until nearly forty. Julian turned from scholarship to defeat the Germans. It came to them because of memory of their own past experience how to guide armies and rebuild civilization.

As peculiar and weird, as unreal and merely speculative as the suggestion appears, this man may arise again in the United States and be he whom Tolstoy predicted would come and be a new Na-

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pooleon to make the world one republic in a federation of peoples. He it may be who will have an influence in reshaping the world. Many in our day have grown to look upon the Bible as good to be taught to children in Sunday School, but as outside the pale of practical and workaday affairs. Yet it has within it the living truth. It contains the secrets of the ages. It holds the message of the Great Time. It gives the simple truths by which all men may live righteously and behold for themselves the light. And it foretells the coming of the Messiah, who is not any more or less than a man as simple as David, who may have been trained by the Almighty these many centuries for the work of unification he has to do with the help of inspiration from on high.

Nowhere are such innate abilities likely to find full usefulness than in the United States, which needs men who fear naught but God and "dare not lie." In no age such as this are the obliteration of self in a mighty work and the talent for government for the good of all so likely to be understood. At no period in history have the peoples so sought the man who will fulfill the message: "He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass, as showers that are dropping on the earth. In his days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace shall be till the moon shall be no more. And he shall have dominion from sea to sea and from the river unto the ends of the earth." It may be that he will come to help lead the American people in their maximum of strength so that freedom and right

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may become worldwide. And possibly he will by his leadership assist in restoring the Jews to their land and in making Israel among the greatest of the nations of the earth.

It was said through Ezekiel: "And speak unto them, Thus hath said the Lord Eternal, behold I will take the children of Israel from among the nations whither they are gone, and I will gather them from every side and bring them unto their own land. And I will make them into one nation on the land, on the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be over them all for king; and they shall not be any more two nations, nor shall they at any time be two kingdoms any more; neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols and with their detestable things, and with all their transgressions; and I will save them out of all their dwelling places wherein they have sinned, and I will cleanse them, and they shall be unto me for a people, and I will be unto them for a God. And my servant David shall be king over them; and one shepherd shall be for them all; and in my ordinances shall they walk, and my statutes shall they observe and do them. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto my servant, unto Jacob, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, they and their children and their children's children forever. And I will make with them a covenant of peace, an everlasting covenant shall it be with them, and I will be unto them for a God and they shall be unto me for a people. And the nations shall know that I am the Lord who sancti-

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fieth Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them forevermore.”

This does not necessarily mean that the Jews will be returned merely to Palestine. It may signify that they will occupy all the land “from the river unto the ends of the sea,” which now constitutes the Arabian Peninsula, Syria and Asia Minor. Within the territory encompassed by boundaries drawn from the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf to the Arabian, Red, Mediterranean and Black Seas Israel might rear a state which would be the center of the world’s wealth. This could be a temporal reward for long dispersion.

Does not the Lord declare, through Ezekiel, of the man destined to assist in this task: “After many days shalt thou be ordered forward; in the end of years shalt thou come into the land that is recovering from the sword (the United States, where permanent peace has been most discussed), and is gathered together out of many peoples, against the mountains of Israel, which have been ruined for a long time: to a people (of the United States) *that are brought forth out of the nations*, and that now dwell in safety, all of them. Thou shalt ascend and come like a tempest, like a cloud to cover the earth wilt thou be, thou, and all thy armies, and the many people with thee. Therefore prophecy, son of man, and say unto Gog, Thus hath saith the Lord Eternal, behold on the day when my people of Israel dwelleth in safety (as they are now beginning to) shalt thou know my power.

“And thou wilt come from thy place out of the

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fartherest ends of the north (the United States), thou and many people with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great assemblage and a mighty army; and thou wilt come up against my people of Israel, like a cloud to cover the land; in the latter days will this be, and I will bring them over my land in order that the nations may know me when I am sanctified on Thee before their eyes, O Gog. Thus hath said the Lord Eternal, Art thou not he of whom I have spoken in ancient days, through means of my servants the prophets of Israel, who prophesied in those days many years, that I would bring thee against them?

“And it shall come to pass at the same time, on the day of Gog’s coming over the land of Israel, saith the Lord Eternal, that my fury shall be kindled in my nose. And in my zealously, in the fire of my wrath have I spoken, Surely on that day shall there be a great earthquake in the country of Israel; and there shall quake at my presence the fishes of the sea (submarines), and the fowls of the heavens (aircraft), and the beasts of the field (great guns), and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth (trenches and machine fire), and the mountains (great nations) shall be thrown down, and the cliffs (of a coast city) shall fall, and every wall (barrier between men) shall fall to the ground. And I will call against him throughout all my mountains for the sword, saith the Lord Eternal: every man’s sword shall be against his brother. And I will hold judgment over him with pestilence and with blood shedding; and an overflowing rain (of

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bullets), and great hailstones (shells), fire and sulphur (liquid fire and poisonous gases) will I let over him and his armies, and over the many people that are with him. Thus will I magnify myself, and make myself known before the eyes of many nations: and they shall know that I am the Lord."

The man who will help do this work will need to be as martially inclined as Rameses, David, Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Trajan, Attila, Heracleus, Jinghis, Suleiman, Turenne, Charles XII and Napoleon. He will need to be a statesman as they and Sargon, Alcibiades, Ptolemy, Tiberius, Septimus Severus, Leo the Isaurian, Harun, Gregory VII and Boniface VIII were statesmen. He will need to be a lawgiver like Hammurabi, Justinian and Napoleon. He will need to be able to express himself as did David, Cæsar, Julian, Gregory VII, Turenne and Napoleon. He will need to be a builder of unity as were Alexander, Cæsar, Hugh the Great, Canute, Alphonso VII, Jinghis, Timur and Casimir. He will need to evince the religious enthusiasm of David, Maximin, Julian, Leo and Gregory VII. He will need to be an orator like Cæsar, who was the rival of Cicero. He will need to be unselfish, lest "he forsake my law" and be brought to grief like Miltiades, Alcibiades, Cæsar, Attila, Charles XII and Napoleon.

He will need to be a simple servant of the Most High, as were Abraham, Jacob, Joshua, David, Daniel, Julian, Harun, Alfred, Canute and Gregory. Otherwise he will not receive the light to guide him

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through vicissitudes and perils. It may be expected that should he appear he will be found as gifted with energy, ability and simplicity as all the "line of David." When and where he cometh no man knoweth. All those who believe they resemble in features the great French conqueror will perhaps prime themselves for the mighty task they imagine to be before them. One of these, of the name of Chandler, spent several years in an asylum for the insane. And there comes to mind the amusing story of "Bunker Bean," who conceived the idea that he could make himself believe he was Napoleon and therefore be capable of mighty deeds.

But only he who has the gift and memory of the marvelous experience of the "line of David" and is intuitively inspired by the Almighty can wield the bow of Ulysses. Then he will achieve and rise to fame by seeming miracle. So natural and simple will he be in his manner, action and thought that ideas will come to him, as to the inspired leaders of the ages, "out of the air." It may be he of whom Isaiah prophesied long ago:

"And there shall rest upon him the spirit of the Lord, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. And he shall be animated by the fear of the Lord; and not after the sight of his eyes shall he judge, and not after the hearing of his ears shall he decide; but he shall judge with righteousness the poor, and decide with equity for the suffering ones of the earth; and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the

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breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his hips. And the wolf shall then dwell with the sheep, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling shall be together, and a little boy (simple man) shall lead them. And the cow and the she-bear shall feed, together shall their young ones lie down; and the lion shall like the ox eat straw. And the suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp, and on the basilisks den shall the weaned child stretch forth his hand. They shall not do hurt nor destroy on all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

Indeed, it may be that this personality of so much experience throughout the centuries will be called upon to rule because he will fulfill the ideal of the Emperor Julian, who wrote sixteen centuries ago: "But now I must demand from it an account, as far as possible, of the man who is good and kingly and great souled. In the first place, then, he is devout and does not neglect the worship of the gods, and secondly he is pious and ministers to his parents, both when they are alive and after their death, and he is friendly to his brothers, and reverences the gods who protect the family, while to supplicants and strangers he is mild and gentle; and he is anxious to gratify good citizens, and governs the masses with justice and for their benefit. And wealth he loves, not that which is heavy with gold

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and silver, but that which is full of the true good will of his friends, and service without flattery. Though by nature he is brave and gallant, he takes no pleasure in war, and detests civil discord, though when men do attack him, whether by some chance or by reason of their own wickedness, he resists them bravely and defends himself with energy, and carries through his enterprises to the end, not desisting until he has destroyed the power of the foe and made it subject to himself.

“But after he has conquered by force of arms, he makes his sword cease from slaughter, because he thinks that for one who is no longer defending himself to go on killing and laying waste is to incur pollution. And being by nature fond of work, and great of soul, he shares in the labors of all; and claims the lion's share of these labors, then divides with the others the rewards for the risks which he has run, and is glad and rejoices, not because he has more gold and silver treasure than other men, and palaces adorned with costly furniture, but because he is able to do good to many, and to bestow upon all men whatever they may chance to lack. This is what he who is truly a king claims for himself.”

Creasy, in his “fifteen Decisive Battles of the World,” says of the great Hun: “When we turn from the legendary to the historic Attila, we see clearly that he was not one of the vulgar herd of barbaric conquerors. Consummate military skill may be traced in his campaigns; and he relied far less on the brute force of armies for the aggrandize-

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ment of his empire than on the unbounded influence over the affections of friends and the fears of foes, which his genius enabled him to acquire. Austerely sober in his private life,—severely just on the judgment seat,—conspicuous among a nation of warriors for hardihood, strength and skill in every martial exercise,—grave and deliberate in counsel, but rapid and remorseless in execution,—he gave safety and security to all who were under his dominion, while he urged a warfare of extermination against all who opposed or sought to escape from it.”

Arrian, whose authorities knew Alexander the Great personally, says: “His body was beautiful and well proportioned; his mind brisk and active; his courage wonderful. He was strong enough to undergo hardships, and willing to meet dangers; ever ambitious of glory and a strict observer of religious duties. As to those pleasures which regarded the body, he showed himself indifferent; as to the desires of the mind, insatiable. He was famous for exciting his soldiers with courage and animating them with hopes of success, as also in dispelling their fears by his own example and magnanimity.”

Mommsen relates of the Roman conqueror: “Cæsar retained both his bodily vigor and his elasticity of mind unimpaired. In fencing and in riding he was a match for any of his soldiers, and his swimming saved his life at Alexandria. Although a gentleman, a man of genius and a monarch, he had still a heart. In his character, as well as in his

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place in history, Cæsar occupies a position where the great contrasts of existence meet and balance each other. Of the mightiest creative power, and yet at the same time of the most penetrating judgment; no longer a youth and yet not an old man; of the highest energy of will and the greatest capacity of execution; filled with republican ideals and yet born to be a king; a Roman in the deepest sense of his nature, and yet called to reconcile and combine in himself, as well as in the outer world, the Roman and Hellenic types of culture—Cæsar was an entire and perfect man.”

J. Holland Rose says of Napoleon: “In spite of his prodigious failure, he was superlatively great in all that pertains to government, the quickening of human energies and the art of war. His greatness lies, not merely in the abiding importance of his undertakings, but still more in the titanic force that he threw into the inception and accomplishment of all of them—a force which invests the storm-blasted monoliths strewn along the latter portion of his career with a majesty unapproachable by a tamer race of toilers.” The military genius of David built the nation of Israel, which his statecraft united, and made possible the messages of the great prophets. Despite one stain of sensuality, he is to be judged by his habitual recognition of a generous standard of conduct, the purity and lofty justice of an administration never stained by selfishness, his power of winning men’s hearts, and the fruits of his deeply religious nature.¹

¹ Ency. Brit., VII, pp. 858-9.

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Sheshonk founded a new dynasty in Egypt by his own capacity, conquered Israel, Judah and Nubia, and developed his kingdom to great prosperity.¹ During the long reign of thirty-five years of Shalmanesar II over Assyria, Babylon was reduced to vassalage by his military prowess. Great in soldierly and administrative qualities the second Sargon arose by his own capacities to be king of Babylon.² Daniel was made ruler over the province of Babylon and chief of the superintendents because enlightenment and intelligence and superior wisdom were found in him.³ Psammeticus was a firm and wise ruler under whom Egypt recovered its prosperity and extended its boundaries.⁴ Greece was saved at Marathon by the genius of Miltiades.⁵

Athens lost the war with Syracuse because it failed to make use of the talents of Alcibiades.⁶ and Hellas finally triumphed through Alexander. Philadelphus was the greatest of the Ptolemies and patronized scientific and literary research.⁷ Hannibal was not only a great warrior, but a statesman and a man of wonderful resource. The innate military prowess of Mithradates I enabled him to succeed his brother on the throne and extend the frontiers of Parthia over Babylon, Bactria, Iran and Media.⁸ And it was the same intuition that led Tiberius, Trajan, Septimus Severus, Aurelian, Maximin Deza and Julian to rise by military steps and solely by individual merit to the purple.

¹ Ency. Brit., IX, p. 86. ² Ibid., III, p. 104. ³ Daniel 2: 48 and 5: 14. ⁴ Ency. Brit., IX, p. 87. ⁵ "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," by E. S. Creasy. ⁶ Thucydides (Jowett), p. 419. ⁷ "History of Egypt," by Breasted. ⁸ Ency. Brit., XX., p. 871.

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Finley says "the fame of Heracleus would have rivalled that of Alexander, Cæsar or Hannibal had he expired at Jerusalem after the successful termination of the Persian war. He had established peace throughout the Empire, restored the strength of the Roman government, revived the power of Christianity in the East, and replanted the holy cross on Mount Calvary. His glory admitted of no addition."¹ Of Leo the Isaurian, Foord writes: "He opened his reign with the most splendid victory in history, saving his realm and religion from destruction, once more staving off from Europe an attack which could not otherwise have been resisted; out of the wild chaos about him he built up a fresh and in many respects an entirely new structure of Europe, throwing into the tremendous task a force and enduring energy, a stern and pure religious enthusiasm. Where he inherited ruin and misery, he left strength, order, peace and reviving prosperity."²

Justinian, who reformed the legal and administrative system of the Empire and instigated its wars and ecclesiastical reforms, was a man of remarkable bodily and mental energy. The reign of Harun Al-Rashid was the most brilliant in the history of the Caliphate. Scholar and poet, he surrounded himself with learned men. Jinghis Kahn and Timur subdued Asia, but possessed the traits and likeness of Napoleon or Cæsar. Spain was united by the statesmanship and military talents of

¹ "Greece Under the Romans," pp. 339-40. ² "The Byzantine Empire," by Edward Foord.

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Alphonso VII. The executive and diplomatic genius of Gregory VII laid the foundations of papal power for centuries. Though the life of Boniface VIII fell in a more unfortunate time, he evinced the same qualities of leadership. Alfred and Canute were alike as simple warriors and statesmen, loved by their followers. Casimir IV, of Poland, was one of the great statesmen of his age. His habits were homely but his political sagacity profound.

Creasy says of Suleiman the Magnificent: "We must remember his princely courage, his military genius, his high and enterprising spirit, his strict observance of the laws of his religion without any taint of bigoted persecution, the order and economy which he combined with so much grandeur and munificence, his liberal encouragement of art and literature, his zeal for the diffusion of education, the conquests by which he extended his empire, and the wise and comprehensive legislation with which he provided for the good government of all his subjects." Hugh the Great was the real founder of the dynasty of the Capets. He might have made himself king had he chosen, but, instead, nominally supported the last of the Carolingians while arrogating to himself all real power. Cardinal de Retz says that Turenne from his youth up possessed all good qualities. He was a warrior and of heroic mould. Montecuculli, his opponent and enemy of the battlefield, said: "Today a man has fallen who did honor to man," and uncovered respectfully.¹

¹ "History of the Ottoman Turks," by Edward Creasy.

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If the assumption that all of these lives from David to Napoleon were but one humble personality, it may be said that down the pathway of the centuries marched this self-same spirit of whom it was promised: "Also I will appoint him my first born, the highest among the kings of the earth." Conquering, reorganizing, rehabilitating, unifying wherever he was reborn, whether in Asia, Africa or Europe, he was enabled to perform his task in the development of civilization. After David he was three times king of Egypt, four times king of Babylon, once prophet in and high official of Babylon, three times leader in Greece, once greatest of Carthaginians, including Julius Cæsar seven times emperor of Rome, once king of the Huns, three times East Roman emperor, once Caliph, twice king of England, once of Castile, once of Poland, once of France, once of Sweden and once of Turkey, twice pope, once Mongol and another time Berlas conqueror, once French general and finally French emperor.

Trained in government and war, he will be ready when he again appears for the great task the Almighty, it may be, will give him to do—the government of the earth as a servant of God and of humanity in the Republic of Man. "In his days abundance of peace shall be till the moon shall be no more." "And my servant shall be over them." "For a child has been born unto us, and the government is placed on his shoulders; and his name is called Wonderful, counselor of the Mighty God, of the Everlasting Father, the prince of peace, *for*

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promoting the increase of the government, and for peace without end, upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom (*unto the ends of the earth*), to establish it and to support it through justice and righteousness, from henceforth and unto eternity; the zeal of the Lord of Hosts will do this.” “Who can withstand the day of His coming? Who can stand when He appeareth? for He is like the fire of the melter, and like the lye of the washers.” In his day it will be said: “Now the Lord hath brought it to fulfillment and hath done according as He hath spoken.” And if this spirit is to reappear by primordial law, all human souls will reappear; and if all reappear, we shall have such a flowering of genius in this land of the free, where is to be found ample opportunity for expression and achievement, as the earth has never known.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROPHECIES OF DANIEL

"Our faith gives us assurance that God's hand guides events both great and small; and the science of history has no higher task than to justify this faith."—Droysen.

"And when this cometh to pass (lo, it will come), then shall they know that a prophet hath been among them." Ezekiel 33:33.

THERE were men in Israel in ancient days who denied the wisdom of the prophets unless it coincided with what they already believed. When the Babylonian monarchy was about to attack Jerusalem it was the voice of Jeremiah which warned his people that it would be wisest for them to quietly accept the yoke of the stronger and rising kingdom. They refused to listen, considered him a traitor and cast him into a dungeon. But his words were fulfilled. Then, like Washington, he refused the monarchical honors the conquering Nebuchadnezzar desired to bestow upon him, and merely chose an abode safe from molestation in his own land, asking also that his friend Baruch be freed.

Moses, centuries before, had warned his race that if it disobeyed the Eternal One and resorted to abominable practices, including unnaturalness and the worship of idols, it would be dispersed among the nations, and after it had been purged of its wickedness by terrible punishments through-

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out a long period, He would again have mercy upon it and restore it to its original habitation. Only a few listened. The great body of the people disobeyed. And the curse of God was fulfilled to the letter.

Separated from the seat of their nationality and cast among the countries, the Jews have been denounced upon the slightest pretext, bitterly hated and persecuted upon the rack, broken upon the wheel, pursued by fire and sword, and, even in free America, reviled and shunned for no other reason than because Hebrews. Only at the present time because of a general slackening of legal and social restrictions, the growth of the Zionist movement, and the increased security in life and property of the individual Jew in nearly all the nations are they who have eyes beginning to perceive that the fulfillment of the latter part of the prediction of the divinely inspired Moses is not far removed.

After the Jews had passed over from Egypt into Palestine, under Joshua, conquering the peoples they found there, it was said that "the Lord gave them rest round about, all just as He had sworn unto their fathers; and there stood not up before them a man of all their enemies; all their enemies the Lord delivered unto their hand. There failed not aught of all the good things which the Lord had spoken unto the house of Israel: it all came to pass."¹ Joshua himself then warned his fellow countrymen: "Take good care therefore, for your

² Joshua 31: 42-45.

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soul's sake, to love the Lord your God.”¹ “Now therefore fear the Lord and serve Him in sincerity and in truth.”² Perhaps with some sarcasm, “Joshua said unto the people, Ye will not be able to serve the Lord; for He is a holy God; He is a watchful God; He will not have any indulgence for your transgressions and your sins. If ye forsake the Lord and serve strange gods, then will He again do you evil and consume you, after that He hath done you good.”³

And so it came to pass. Samuel added to the warning: “He ever guardeth the feet of His pious ones, and the wicked shall be made silent in darkness; for not by strength can man prevail.”⁴ Likewise Zechariah: “Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.”⁵ These spiritual leaders had seen these things. It is remarked in the Book of Samuel that “in former times it was customary in Israel that when a man went to inquire of God he said thus, Come and let us go as far as the seer; for the prophet of the present day was in former times called a seer.”⁶

It came to Samuel by the divine guidance that he was to go to the son of Jesse, who proved to be the shepherd boy, David, and say to him that he had been chosen king of Israel. And so the lad became. Later Achiyah told Jeroboam that he would succeed to a part of the kingdom which would be divided after the death of his father Solomon. Rehoboam, the first successor of him who has borne

¹ Joshua 23:11. ² Ibid., 24:14. ³ Ibid., 34:19-20. ⁴ Samuel 2:9. ⁵ Ibid., 4:6. ⁶ I Samuel 9:9.

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the reputation of being the wisest of kings, became a tyrant, his subjects rebelled and the vision was fulfilled to the letter. Isaiah prophesied to Hezekiah and Ezekiel to Zedekiah that all in Jerusalem and the king's house would be carried away to Babylon. And so they were.

Isaiah, too, predicted that as soon as his child Immanuel should grow to the age when he should know the difference between good and evil the king of Assyria would come. This happened. When Sennacherib appeared before Jerusalem the son of Amos foretold that he would hear a rumor and return to his own land. This was fulfilled. Then the prophet's wife gave birth to another son, Maher-shalal-chashbas. It came to Isaiah that before his offspring should know how to call father or mother the wealth of Samaria and Damascus would be carried away by the Assyrian monarch. And they were. Israel escaped destruction, but passed under the yoke of Ninevah.

The great seer now declared that his people should not be afraid of Asshur, for in a little while the indignation of the Lord would cease, the hand of the oppressor be smitten and the burden lifted from the shoulders of Israel. This he said would be because of the fatness of Assyria; that is, it would pass to the decline of energy following upon decay. This also came true, for Babylon succeeded as the mighty power. Isaiah saw the doom of Damascus and that men of that city would no more turn to their altars, groves and images, which their hands had fashioned, but to their Maker, the Holy One

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of Israel; that Egypt would revolt, pass under the foreign yoke, and see many of its inhabitants led away captive; that altars to the Lord would be established in Egypt and that there would be community of interest between Egypt and Assyria; that Babylon would fall and all its graven images be shivered into the ground; that the feet of Tyre would carry her afar off to sojourn, that she would fall because she had no more strength, be lost seventy years, revive again.

And so it was fulfilled. Damascus fell before Tiglath Pileser III and did not rise again for a long time, Egypt was divided in the Ethiopian invasion of the XXIII and XXIV dynasties, passed under the yoke of Assyria, saw many of its inhabitants, including the royal harem, led away by Esarhaddon; after Necho had defeated Josiah of Judah many Israelites were taken away to Egypt and Hebrew altars were set up there; because of Assyria destroying the Ethiopian tyranny and setting up Necho, the father of Psammeticus, as governor, there was international amity between the vassal and conquering kingdom; Babylon did finally fall before the Persians; Tyre was carried off by its own feet to Carthage, under Sennacherib and Esarhaddon was oppressed, for just how many years it is difficult to verify at the present stage of archeological excavation, and then did for a time prosper again. Isaiah lived between the years 750 and 700 B.C., approximately. It was a time of change and upheaval, and he appeared as a light to his people.

An hundred years were to pass before Jeremiah.

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In the time of the latter the Jewish nation had declined morally. It was he who foresaw the terrible chastisement that befell in 586 B.C. He says: "Everyone neighed after the wife of his neighbor. Shall I not for these things inflict punishment? saith the Lord: and shall on a nation such as this my soul not be avenged?" He continues to speak in the name of his God: "I will render this city (Jerusalem) desolate and an object of derision."¹ I will tear you (the Jews) completely away, and I will cast you off, and the city that I have given to you and to your fathers out of my presence. And I will lay upon you an everlasting disgrace and a perpetual shame which shall not be forgotten."² "And I will make them a horror because of their mishaps unto all the kingdoms of the earth, a disgrace and a proverb, a byword and a curse, in all the places wherein I will drive them. And I will send out against them the sword, the famine and the pestilence, till they be destroyed from off the land which I have given to them and to their fathers."³ So it came to pass.

Jeremiah foretold that Philistia would be utterly spoiled and wasted by overflowing hosts from the northern lands. This, too, shortly occurred. He prophesied the great dispersion, like Isaiah, and the return "when they shall serve the Lord their God and David their king, whom I shall raise up unto them."⁴ And when "their leaders shall be of themselves, and their ruler shall be from the midst of them"⁵ (in a republic). He warned Zedekiah

¹ Jeremiah 19:8. ² Ibid., 23:39-40. ³ Ibid., 24:9-10. ⁴ 30:9.
⁵ Ibid., 30:21.

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that if he willingly passed under the yoke of Babylon, Jerusalem would not be destroyed by fire. The king did not do so and the punishment was severe. He predicted the ruin of Philistia, Moab, Tyre and Sidon, the fall of Babylon, and the rise of Media. As he saw, so it came to be.

Ezekiel in mighty messages to the people of the exile predicted, as his forebears had done, the doom which the Jews would suffer throughout the centuries: "Yea, I will render thee a ruin and a disgrace among the nations that are round about thee." Then he, too, foretold the restoration in the golden age: "And those of you that escape shall remember me among the nations among whom they shall have been carried captive, when I shall have broken their licentious heart, which had departed from me, even with their eyes which were gone astray after their idols, and they shall loath themselves on account of the evil deeds which they have committed with all their abominations. And they shall know that I am the Lord; not for naught have I spoken that I would do this evil unto them."¹

"And I will assemble you from out of the countries whither ye have been scattered, and I will give you the land of Israel. And they shall come thither, and they shall remove all of its detestable things out of it. And I will give them one single heart, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will remove the heart of stone out of their body, and I will give unto them a heart of flesh, in order that

¹ Ezekiel 6: 9-10.

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they may walk in my statutes and keep my ordinances and do them; and they shall be unto me for a people, and I will indeed be unto them for a God.”¹ Certainly the Jews were dispersed. Their return has begun.

He foresaw that Tyre would become “a place for the spreading out of nets . . . in the midst of the sea.”² “Down to the grave will they cast thee, and thou shalt die the death of the slain in the heart of the sea. Wilt thou then say, I am God before him that slayeth thee, when thou art but a man, and no god, in the hand of him that fatally woundeth thee?”³ “As though thou hadst not been will I render thee, and thou shalt be no more; and thou shalt be sought for, but thou shalt not be found any more to eternity, saith the Lord Eternal.”⁴ Tyre today is a place where fishermen cast their nets, its ancient grandeur forgotten for many centuries.

It was Jeremiah who predicted that Egypt would become “a mass of ruins, a waste and a wilderness from Migdol to Saveneh, even up to the border of Ethiopia. There shall not pass through it the foot of man, and the foot of beasts shall not pass through it, and it shall not be inhabited forty years, and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and I will disperse them through the countries.”⁵ I will give unto Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon the land of Egypt.”⁶ “I will make the land desolate

¹ Ezekiel 11: 17-20. ² Ibid., 26: 5. ³ Ibid., 23: 8-9. ⁴ Ibid., 26: 21.
⁵ Ibid., 29: 10-12. ⁶ Ibid., 29: 19.

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and all that filleth it, by the hand of strangers. I, the Lord, hath spoken it. Thus hath said the Lord Eternal, I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause false gods to cease out of Noph; and a prince out of the land of Egypt shall there not be any more.”¹

Research of the facts discloses that Nebuchadnezzar did invade Egypt; that under the Persian, Cambyses, the country was completely crushed; that subsequently the land became so desolate in the midst of desolated countries that even its language, history and monuments were lost to direct view until Napoleon brought to light the Rosetta stone; and from the time shortly after Jeremiah wrote until now, though the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, foreign Ptolemaic, Roman, Mohammedan, French and British occupations there has been no native prince to lead the nation.

Jeremiah also declared of Babylon: “Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord, which destroyest all the earth; and I will stretch out my hand over thee and I will roll thee down from the rocks, and will render thee a burnt mountain. And they shall not take from thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but everlasting ruins shalt thou be, saith the Lord.”² So exact was the fulfillment of this prophecy that naught but a great mound covered the site of the once mighty city when it was rediscovered during the nineteenth century. Nahum had likewise spoken in the name of God when he said of Ninevah: “And

¹ Ezekiel 30: 12-15. ² Jeremiah 51: 25-26.

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I will cast abominable filth upon thee and defile thee and render thee a dirt heap. And it shall come to pass that they that see thee shall flee from thee and say, Laid waste in Ninevah." ¹ And this city, too, as it was foretold, was buried beneath the débris of the ages and completely lost to the view of man until in the last century the great mound near Mosul was found to contain its remains.

These sublime passages from the Old Testament, containing predictions that have been fulfilled to the letter, are auguries of those other prophesies made by the seers of Israel which have not yet reached final fruition. Those of the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom and the Messianic time but await the passage of the period indicated by Daniel. He with exactness foretold the rise and fall of empires that had not yet come into being in his day. He gave description of these and also dates which are unmistakable in their clarity. Viewing them in the light of the present and the immediate future of the world, they seem as majestic as the pyramids against the azure sky of the Nile valley. Speaking out of Babylon, the capital of an empire long since sunk to rest and oblivion, his far-seeing vision across centuries of Asiatic, Egyptian, European and American history seems like the hand writing of God which he is said to have deciphered upon the palace of Belshazzar.

Nearly twenty-five hundred years ago Daniel foresaw the coming of the period when all the earth

¹ Nahum 3:6-7.

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would be one in a common brotherhood, and calculated its appearance to a nicety. Probably with the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. he was carried to Babylon and made an attendant in the palace of the conqueror. A boy then, it may have been a quarter of a century later when he gave to the world the prophesy that a time (a thousand) times (another thousand) and half a time (half a thousand years) would "the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall to all eternity not be destroyed, and its rule shall not be transferred to any other people; and it will grind up and make an end of all these kingdoms while it will itself endure forever."¹

No mention is made in the "Book of Kings" or in "Jeremiah" of the taking of the Hebrew capital by Nebuchadnezzar in 605 B.C., the "third year of Jehoiakim" of "Daniel," and it is extremely improbable. The chapter in which the quoted prediction is stated to have been made was composed "in the first year of Belshazzar,"² who is referred to throughout as the son of Nebuchadnezzar. The latter, as crown prince, defeated the Egyptians at Charchemish in 605 B.C. If, as Berosus says, he hurried home shortly afterwards, upon the death of his father, to become king, and this was in the same year, and if, as the same ancient authority asserts, he reigned forty-three years, the first year of Belshazzar would fall in 562 B.C. and the culmination of the "time, times and half a time" in 1938 A.D.

¹ Daniel 2:44. ² Ibid., 7:1.

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One might by Biblical computation easily bring himself in harmony with the fanatical Adventists who proclaimed the end of the world on a certain day in 1844 and awakened the next morning to find it going on about as usual. But in the present analysis of "Daniel" and of history are to be found facts which, if interpreted correctly, when corroborated by the law of blood narrated earlier in this work, at least give probability to such an estimate of Daniel's forecast.

Archeological inscriptions name Belshazzar as the son of Nabunaid and state that he was slain in the night by Gubaru, the governor sent by Cyrus; but the man who was regent and general under his father may have been the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar and have been given some power immediately upon the death of the latter: a campaign as a successful commander in 605 B.C. and a reign thereafter of forty-three years must have made the king very old at the time of his passing away. If we are to accept the date of 605 B.C. as that in which Jerusalem fell, as some scholars have thought, "the time of the end" would be brought about many years earlier.

In the first of his visions Daniel revealed the dream which Nebuchadnezzar had had and its meaning. The astrologers and wise men had, when requested to decipher it, asked that the king first tell them his dream. He had refused and condemned them to death, when Daniel asked that he be given time to find the solution. This came to

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him in a dream of his own at night after he had prayed for light. Then did Daniel exclaim: "May the name of God be blessed from eternity to all eternity, for wisdom and might are His; and He changeth times and seasons; He removeth kings and raiseth up kings; He giveth wisdom unto the wise and knowledge to those that possess understanding. He it is that revealeth what is deep and secret; He knoweth what is in the darkness and the light dwelleth with Him."¹

The prophet said to the king: "The secret which the king hath demanded no wise men, astrologers, magicians or soothsayers can tell unto the king; but there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and He hath made known to Nebuchadnezzar what is to be in the latter days. Thy vision and the dream of thy head upon thy couch are these. As for thee, O king, thy thoughts when thou wast on thy couch rose within thee concerning what is to come hereafter, and the Revealer of Secrets hath made known to thee what is to come to pass. But, as for me, this secret hath not been revealed to me because of any wisdom that is in me more than all other living, but for the sake that men might make known the interpretation to the king, and that thou mightest understand the thoughts of thy heart."²

Daniel continues: "Thou, O king, sawest, and behold there was a large image, its head was of fine gold, its breasts and its arms were of silver, its belly and its thighs of copper, its legs of iron, its

¹ Daniel 2:20-22. ² Ibid., 2:27-30.

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feet part of them of iron and part of them of clay. Thou didst look on till the moment that a stone tore itself loose, not through human hands, and it struck the image upon its feet that were of iron and clay and ground them to pieces. Then were the iron, the clay, the copper, the silver and the gold ground up together, and become like the chaff of the summer threshing floor; and the wind carried them away and no trace was found of them; and the stone that had stricken the image became a mighty mountain and filled the whole earth.

“This is the dream, and its interpretation will we relate before the king. Thou, O king, art a king of kings, to whom the God of heaven hath given kingdom, power and strength and honor: and wheresoever the children of men dwell hath he given the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven unto thy hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art the head of gold. And after thee there will arise another kingdom (Persia) inferior to thee; and another third kingdom of copper (Macedon) which will bear rule over the earth. And the fourth kingdom (Rome) will be as strong as iron; forasmuch as iron grindeth up and beateth down all things, as iron that breaketh everything will it grind down and break up these (Mediterranean nationalities).

“And that thou saw the feet and toes (European countries), part of them of potter’s clay (weak) and part of them of iron (strong), signifieth that it will be a divided kingdom, although there will be in it of the strength of the iron (through Roman

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law and institutions); forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mingled with the miry clay (by blood and language). And as the toes of the feet were part of them of iron and part of them of clay; so will the kingdom be partly strong and partly brittle. And whereas thou sawest iron mingled with miry clay, so will they mingle themselves among the seed of men (by colonization across the sea); but they will not cleave firmly one to another (in a Europe of separate nationalities), even as the iron cannot be mingled with clay.

“But in the days of these (European) kings will the God of heaven set up a kingdom (the Republic of Man) which shall to eternity not be destroyed, and its rule shall not be transferred to any other people; but it will grind up and make an end of all these kingdoms while it will itself endure forever. Whereas thou sawest that out of the mountain a stone tore itself loose (like the United States), not by human hands (but by the work of God), and that it ground up (in the crucible of the greater republic) the iron, the copper, the clay, the silver and the gold: the great God hath made known what is to come to pass after this: and the dream is reliable and its interpretation correct.”¹

The Book of Daniel relates that “then did king Nebuchadnezzar fall upon his face, and he bowed down to Daniel, and ordered that they should offer an oblation and sweet incense unto him. The king answered unto Daniel and said: ‘Of a truth it is that your God is the God of gods and the revealer of

¹ Daniel 2:31-45.

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secrets, because thou hast been able to reveal this secret.' Then did the king elevate Daniel and gave him many presents and made him ruler over the whole kingdom of Babylon and chief of the superintendents over all the wise men of Babylon." Thereafter followed the beautifully symbolic stories of the trust in God through trials in the fire (of experience) of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar of his being brought low to eat grass so that he might know that "the Most High ruleth over kingdoms of men," of the interpretation of the warning on the wall of the fall of Belshazzar's kingdom, and of Daniel being thrown into the den of lions and "no manner of hurt being found on him because he had trusted in his God."

The second of his marvelous visions, which has engaged the thought of more than two thousand years, is then narrated and is here given: "I saw in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of heaven blew fiercely on the great (Mediterranean) sea. And four great beasts (of Europe) came up from the sea, differing one from another. The first (Rome) was like a lion (in power) and had eagle's wings (to spread out over the land): I looked till its wings were plucked out, and it was lifted up from the earth (in deprivation of its dominion) and was placed upon its feet as a man (in strength), and a human heart (to realize that it must meet its end like all mankind) was given to it.

"And behold there was another, a second beast (the Empire of the West), like a bear (of the north-

ern climate), and on one (western) side was it placed, with three ribs (Charlemagne, Charles V, Napoleon) in its mouth (to hold) between its (conquering) teeth: and thus they said, 'Arise, eat much (territorial) flesh.' After this I looked and, lo, there was another (Britain), like a leopard (with many spots of territory dotted over the face of the earth): and it had four wings (British North America, Australia, South Africa and India) of a bird (that flew far) on (or at) its back; the beast had also four heads (England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales); and dominion (to the extent of nearly a fourth of the globe) was given unto it.

"After this I looked in the night visions, and behold there was a fourth beast (Germany), dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth (in its armies and submarines); it devoured (territory) and ground up (rights and institutions), and what was left it (ruthlessly) stamped its feet; and it was different (in the composition of the states of its kingdom) from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns (or kings, as follows: Frederick William, the "Great Elector," Frederick I, Frederick William I, Frederick the Great, Frederick William II, William I, Frederick III, and William II). I looked carefully at the horns and behold, another little horn (Prussia) came up between them, and three of the first horns (Denmark, Austria, France) were plucked up by the roots (and defeated) before the same; and behold there were eyes like the eyes of a man in this horn (earthly, materialistic and

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seeking dominion), with a mouth speaking presumptuous things (of the divine right of monarchy and the power of blood and iron).

“I was looking until chairs (for presidents) were set down (established) and an Ancient of Days (because in preparation from the beginning of history) seated himself (in the presidency of the United States), whose garment was white as snow (in spiritual light) and the hair of whose head was like clean wool (in inspiration); his chair was like flames of fire (in its successful warfare), and his wheels like fire that burnt; a stream of fire (armies) issued and came forth before him; thousand times thousands (of citizens) ministered unto him (in assistance), and myriad times myriads stood before him (in the great democracy); they sat down to hold judgment (of the history and condition of men) and the books (of the Bible) were opened (to explanation through the higher criticism).

“I looked then because of the presumptuous words which the (Prussian kingly) horn had spoken,—I looked till the (German) beast was slain and its body destroyed, and given over to the burning fire (of the conquerors). But concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion (of empire) taken away; yet a longer duration of life was given unto them until the time and period (of the end of the dispensation in the Federation of the World). I looked in the nightly visions and behold, with the clouds of heaven (in inspiration) came one like the son of man (in appearance, though enlightened) and he attained as far as (or lived in

the time of) the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him. And there were given him dominion and government and dignity (as president of the entire earth), and all peoples, nations and languages had to serve him: his dominion (the Republic of Man) is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is one that shall never be destroyed.

“My spirit was deeply shaken within me, Daniel, in the midst of its tenement, and the visions of my head troubled me. I came near unto one of those that stood by and asked him something concerning all this: and he spoke to me and made known unto me the interpretation of the things. ‘These great beasts of which there are four are four kings who are to arise on the earth. But the saints of the Most High (those simple men who are His servants) will obtain the kingdom and possess the kingdom (in ruling over it) to eternity, even to eternity.’

“Then I desired what is certain concerning the fourth beast, which was different from all these others, exceedingly dreadful, whose (armed) teeth were of iron, and whose nails (munitions) were of copper (metal), which devoured, ground up and stamped with its feet what was left (of the beasts or kingdoms that had gone before in Europe); and concerning the ten horns (kings) that were in its head (of the state) and concerning the other (Prussia) which came up and before which three fell down,—even concerning that horn which had eyes and a mouth speaking presumptuous things and whose appearance was greater than its companions. I had seen how the same horn had made war with

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the saints (of liberty and righteousness) and prevailed against them (for a time): until the Ancient of Days came and procured justice unto the saints of the Most High, and the time came and the saints took possession of the kingdom.

“Thus said he, ‘The fourth beast signifieth that a fourth kingdom (Germany) will be upon the earth, which is to be different from all kingdoms, and will devour all the earth and will tread it down and grind it up. And the ten horns out of this kingdom signify that ten kings will arise; and another will arise after (or in the latter part of the line of) them (the Empire) and he will be different from the first (Prussia) and three (great) kings will he bring low. And he will speak words (of materialism) against the Most High, and the saints of the Most High will he oppress, and think to change the festivals and law (as Haeckel); and they will be given up unto his hand until a time (a thousand) and times (another thousand) and half a time (half a thousand). But they will sit down to hold judgment, and they will take away his (the German Emperor’s) dominion, to destroy and to annihilate it unto the end. And the kingdom and the dominion and the power over the kingdoms under the whole heaven will be given to the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all governments are to worship and obey him.’ ” (The last word probably an interpolation, as in all of Isaiah LIII.)

Probably in the latter part of his life, in the days

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of Belshazzar, Daniel was again enabled to see into the future. He says: "And I saw in the vision—and it came to pass in my seeing that I was in Shushan (Susa) the capital, which is in the province of Elam—and I saw in the vision as though I were by the river Ulai. And I lifted up my eyes and saw, and behold there was a ram (empire) standing before the river, and he had two horns (Media and Persia); and the horns were high (in power); the one (Persia) was higher than the other, and the higher one came up last (Cyrus deposing Asytyages). I saw the ram butting (in its conquering) westward and northward and southward; so that all the beasts could not stand before him, and no one was there to deliver out of his hand: and he did according to his will and became great.

"And as I was looking attentively, behold, there came a shaggy he-goat (Greece) from the west over the face of the whole earth, without touching the ground (in defeat); and the he-goat had a slightly large horn (Macedon) between his eyes. And he (Alexander) came as far as the ram that had two horns, that I had seen standing before the river, and ran at him with his furious power. And I saw him coming close unto the ram, and he became bitterly enraged against him: and he cast him down to the ground and stamped upon him; and there was no one to deliver the ram out of his hand."

Of this time Josephus says: "Now Alexander when he had taken Gaza made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua, the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony and under terror, as

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not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in making supplications to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them. Whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that 'he should take courage and adorn the city and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent.'

“Upon which when he arose from his sleep he greatly rejoiced, and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely and so waited for the coming of the king. And when he understood that he was not far from the city he went out in procession with the priests and multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name translated into Greek means a prospect, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and the temple; and when the Phœnecians and Chaldeans that followed him thought that they should have liberty to plunder the city and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander

when he saw the multitude at a distance in white garments while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing with his miter on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself and adored that name and first saluted the high priest.

“The Jews also did altogether, with one voice, salute Alexander and encompass him about. Whereupon the king of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him and asked him, ‘How it came to pass that when all others adored him he should adore the high priest of the Jews?’ To whom he replied: ‘I did not adore him, but that God who hath honored him with his high priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians; whence it is that having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this one in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my mind.’

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“And when he had said this to Parmenio and had given the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him and he came into the city. And when he went up into the temple he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest’s direction; and magnificently treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the Book of Daniel was showed him, wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended. And, as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day he called them to him and bid them ask what favors they pleased of him; whereupon the high priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute in the seventh year. He granted all they desired.”¹

There has been considerable disposition to dispute the authenticity of this passage and to make it appear as an attempt to magnify the priesthood, but the facts it narrates are eminently in keeping with the character and policy of Alexander as well as the customs of the time. When the Greek conqueror appeared before Tyre and the ambassadors met him on the road there, professing to do his will, he expressed the intention of visiting the city in order to sacrifice in the temple of Heracles, and after they had refused and he had subdued the place he did so. In Egypt he propitiated the native religion and had himself proclaimed as the divine son of the god Ammon. When he approached Babylon,

¹ “Antiquities,” XI; 8, 4-5.

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expecting the necessity of conquering it, the people streamed out of the gates, led by their priests and chief men. It was his policy to conciliate and when he passed through Syria he may have visited Jerusalem. The lack of knowledge of Josephus' sources does not make such an event impossible; and those who have denied the authenticity of the passage may have forced a point in order to substantiate the theory that all of the Book of Daniel was written in Maccabean days.

Several interpolations now occur, even to the extent of entire chapters. As S. R. Driver admits, "there are features in the book which might suggest that the author was not throughout the same." R. H. Charles asks whether we are to explain differences in the language in which the work is written by diversity of authorship. Those who adopt the theory that it was in its entirety compiled in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) do not attempt to explain the exact application of the image Nebuchadnezzar saw, the four great beasts, the ten horns, or the kingdom which ground up all the rest while it endured forever.

It is not difficult to place the statements of the bronze belly and thighs, the leopard with the four wings, the goat with one horn, and Alexander and his successors side by side and declare that they mean the same thing. But that proves no more than the Christian attempts since the early church fathers to make all the prophecies of Daniel fore-run the coming of Jesus. It is true that a part of

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the eighth and all of the ninth and eleventh chapters give evidence of having been made up in Maccabean times to suit the exigencies of Judean hopes. The style of these chapters is unlike the remainder of the book. Both begin with a mention of having been composed in the first year of Darius the Mede (or Persian). This would have made Daniel about an hundred years of age. In Chapter IX is a prayer very similar to that of Ezra IX. Yet the greater part of the work remains to baffle those who have accepted the Maccabean hypothesis. Even the application of each mention of the "time, times and half a time" to the little more than three years of the abominations caused by Antiochus Epiphanes fails to correspond with the exact period.

The narrative continues: "And the shaggy he-goat became very great; but when he was become strong the great horn was broken (by Alexander's early death); and there came up four (his generals, Seleucus who took Syria, Ptolemy who took Egypt, Antigonus who took Persia, and Cassander who took Macedon) slightly large ones (in power) in its place toward the four winds of heaven (in direction). And out of one of them (Seleucus) came a little horn (the kingdom of the Seleucids) which became exceedingly great toward the south (and Egypt), and toward the east (Bactriana and the Indus) and toward the glorious land (Judah). And it became great (under Antiochus Epiphanes), even up to the prince of the host (God himself), and by it the continual sacrifice (burnt offering) was taken

away and the place of his sanctuary (in the temple) was cast down. And the host (of the Jews) is given up together with the continual sacrifice by reason of transgression (for unrighteousness); and it (the power of Antiochus) casteth down the truth to the ground, and it doeth this and is prosperous.

“Then did I hear a certain holy one (this in imitation of the language of the former chapters) speaking, and the holy one said unto the unknown who was speaking, ‘For how long is the vision concerning the continual sacrifice, and the wasting (by terrible persecution) transgression to give up both the sanctuary and the host, to be trodden under foot?’ And he said unto me, ‘Until two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings (of daily burnt offerings, or three years from 168 to 165 B.C.) when the sanctuary shall be justified’ ” (by resumption).

Daniel goes on: “And it came to pass when I, even I Daniel, saw the vision and sought for understanding, that, behold, there was standing opposite to me something like the appearance of a man. And I heard the voice of a man between the banks of the Ulai and it called and said, ‘Gabriel, cause this one to understand this appearance.’ Now as he was speaking with me, I fell down in amazement on my face to the ground; but he touched me and set me upright where I had been standing.

“And he said, ‘Behold I will make known unto thee what is to be at the last end of the indignation (against the Jews); for it is for the appointed time of the end. The ram that thou hast seen with

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the two horns signifieth the kings of Media and Persia. And the shaggy he-goat is the king of Javan (Greece); and the great horn which is between his eyes is the first king (who united Macedonia and the Peloponnesus). But that it was broken (by the death of Alexander), and that four sprung up out of the nation, but not with his power (their own instead).

“And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors have filled their measure of guilt (by having drunk of suffering to the full), there will arise a king (the Pope) of an impudent face (asserting himself to be the vicegerent of God on earth and infallible), and understanding deep schemes (such as the seizure of jurisdiction over the bodies as well as minds of men). And his power will be mighty (in the time of the Holy Roman Empire), but not by his own power (because without armed force in his own right); and he will destroy wonderfully (through the *Holy* Inquisition by which between 1481 and 1808 there were 340,000 punished, of whom 34,000 were burnt alive), and will prosper (by the sale of indulgences and by mammoth vanity) while he doeth this; and he will destroy very many (heretics) and the (Jewish) people of the saints. And through his intelligence and because he prospereth (in material leisure) is craftiness (of design, as exemplified by the Medeci) in his hand; and in his heart will he magnify himself (as when Alexander VI divided the new worlds of discovery between Portugal and Spain), and in peace (without armies of his own) will he destroy many (as Ar-

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nold of Brescia, Savonarola, John Hus and Giordano Bruno); he will also stand up against the Prince of Princes (God Himself), but without a human hand (and only by right reason) will he be broken.

“And the appearance of the evening (of darkness) and the morning (of light) which was spoken of is true; but do thou keep the vision closed up; for it will come to pass after many days (in the far future).”

As announced in verse 2, the purpose of chapter IX is to find a meaning for the seventy years predicted by Daniel to satisfy Maccabean hopes: “Seventy weeks (or 490 years, which were never concluded) upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to close up the transgression and to make an end of sins (terminology which appears as the Christian era approaches), and to atone for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophesy and anoint the most holy thing (in the temple). Know therefore that from the going forth of the word of Jeremiah (in 586 B.C.) to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the anointed, the prince (Zerubbabel), will be seven weeks (of years, to the beginning of the restoration in 538 B.C.); and during sixty and two weeks (from 596 B.C., the date given by some authorities for an exodus following that assumed by them to have occurred in 605 to 162 B.C. when Judas Maccabeus threw off the Syrian yoke) will it again be built with streets and ditches around it, even in the pres-

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sure of the times. And after sixty and two weeks will an anointed one be cut off (Judas Maccabeus was killed in the following year) without a successor to follow him; and the city and sanctuary will the prince that is coming (Antiochus Epiphanes) destroy; but his end will come in a violent overthrow; but until the end of the war devastations are decreed against it. And he will make a strong covenant with the many (followers of Menelaus, the renegade high priest) for one week (of years, from 171 to 164 B.C.); and in the half of the week (from 168 to 165 B.C.) will he cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and this because of the abominations (of swine sacrificed) which bringeth devastation, and until destruction and what is decreed shall be poured out upon the waster (through the Maccabees it was hoped)."

The eleventh chapter, a continued effort to propitiate Maccabean hopes, follows: "Behold there will stand up yet three kings of Persia (Cyrus, who took Babylon in 538 B.C.,¹ Cambyses, who succeeded him in 529 B.C.,² and Darius, who reigned 521-485 B.C.³); and the fourth (Xerxes, 485-465 B.C.⁴) will obtain greater riches than all these (subduing Egypt more completely than his predecessors⁵) and when he is strong through his riches will he stir up all, namely the kingdom of Javan (Greece, by whom he was defeated at Salamis and Platea⁶). And then will stand up a mighty king

¹ Ploetz Epitome, p. 26. ² Ibid., p. 27. ³ Ibid., pp. 27-28.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 28-29. ⁵ Herodotus VII, 7. ⁶ Ploetz, p. 60.

(Alexander), and when he shall have stood his kingdom will be broken toward the four winds of the heavens (in direction), and not to his posterity (Roxana and her son being murdered ¹), nor according to his dominion which he ruled (the empire of Macedon with his death passing away and his generals who survived their contests with each other becoming kings in their own right ²); for his kingdom was torn asunder even for others beside these (such as Rome).

“And the king of the south (Ptolemy Soter, 325-285 B.C.) will become strong, yea, he who is one of Alexander's princes, but another (Seleucus Nicator, 312-281 B.C.) will become strong and will rule (over Syria and Babylon ³); a great dominion will his dominion be (extending to the Indus ⁴). But at the end of some years will they associate themselves together (by Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285-247 B.C., giving his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus Theos, of Syria, 261-241 B.C., to cement an alliance, provided that Antiochus should divorce his wife Laodice and secure to the offspring of Berenice the throne ⁵); and the daughter of the king of the south will come to the king of the north to make a settlement of difficulties (which had arisen between them ⁶); but he will not retain the power of the support (Antiochus having abandoned Berenice and again made Laodice his queen, due to the

¹ Diodorus XIX, 8. ² Ibid. ³ Ency. Brit., XXIV, 603. ⁴ Ibid.
⁵ “House of Seleucus,” by E. R. Bevan, Vol. I, pp. 178-9. ⁶ Ibid.,
 p. 179.

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death of Philadelphus¹); neither will he (Antiochus) stand nor his support (being poisoned² in revenge by Laodice, in order to secure the throne for her son, Seleucus Callinicus, 226-222 B.C.); but she (Berenice) will be given up (through Laodice's assassination of her, her infant son³ and those women who had escorted her from Egypt⁴), and he that begat her (by death, 246 B.C.) and he that had strengthened her in those times.

“But there will stand up a sprout (son) of her (Berenice's) roots (parents) in his (Ptolemy Philadelphus') place, and he (Ptolemy Eugertes, her brother, 221-217 B.C.) will come to the army, and will enter into the stronghold (by capturing Seleucia) of the king (Antiochus) of the north (Syria) and will deal (fight) with them (killing Laodice⁵) and prevail (by overrunning Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Iran and subduing portions of Cyprus, Celicia, Pamphilia, Ionia and Thrace⁶). And also their gods with their molten images, with their precious vessels of gold and silver (which had been taken away from Egypt in the days of Cambyzes) will he carry into captivity to Egypt; and he (Ptolemy Eugertes) will stand off (due to domestic troubles⁷) for some (ten) years from the king of the north (having made a treaty of peace with Seleucus⁸).

¹ “House of Seleucus.” ² “Roman History,” Appian, XVII, 65.
³ Ibid. ⁴ “House of Seleucus,” Vol. I, p. 183. ⁵ “Roman History,” Appian, XI, 66. ⁶ “House of Seleucus,” Vol. I, pp. 184-190.
⁷ Justin XXVII, 1, 9. ⁸ Ibid., 2, 9.

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“But this one (Seleucus II, 246-226 B.C.) will then enter the kingdom (of Syria, which was now in possession) of the king of the south (Egypt) and then return unto his own land (Seleucus, after the defeat of his army at Ancyra, 235 B.C.¹). But his (Seleucus’) sons (Seleucus III Keraunus, 226-222 B.C., who lived four years after the death of his father and warred with Attalus, king of Pergamum,² and Antiochus III, 220-187 B.C., who subdued insurrections in Media and Parthia, 221 B.C.³) will commence a war and assemble a multitude of great armies (with the ultimate object of subduing Egypt,⁴ latterly ruled over by Ptolemy IV, 221-205 B.C.); and one (Antiochus III) will certainly enter (Palestine) and overflow (Phœnicia also) and pass along (capturing Tyre, Ptolemais and other cities, 219-218 B.C.⁵); then will he return (the Syrian army going into winter quarters following an armistice), and make war again (in the following year taking the field with an army of 62,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 102 elephants), even to his stronghold (of Coele-Syria).

“And the king of the south will be moved to bitter wrath (raising a superior force except in elephants) and go forth and fight with them, even with the king of the north, and he will set forth a great multitude; but the multitude of the other will be given up unto his hand (Antiochus being defeated

¹ Ency. Brit., XXIV, 604. ² Polybius, 4, 48, 7. ³ Appian II, 1.

⁴ “House of Seleucus,” Vol. I, p. 204. ⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 313.

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at Raphia with a loss of 10,000 men, 217 B.C.¹) And the multitude (of Syria) will be lifted up and his heart will become proud (with courage²) and he will cast down myriads (defeating the Achæans 216-214 B.C., Armenians 212 B.C., Parthians 209 B.C. and Bactrians 208 B.C., crossing the Hindu Kush and invading the Kabul Valley 206 B.C.) but he will not be strengthened by it (having permanently subdued neither). And the king of the north (Antiochus III) will return (205-204 B.C.) and set forth (toward Egypt) a multitude greater than the former, and at the end of the times (consisting) of years will he certainly come with a great army and with much riches (especially of elephants newly acquired from India³).

“And in those times many (including Philip V of Macedon); also the rebellious (against the dispersion decreed by the Almighty) of thy people (the Jews⁴) will lift themselves up to establish the vision (of return of nationality); but they will stumble (through inability of Antiochus to take Egypt). And the king of the north (Antiochus III) will come and cast up a mound (taking Mt. Parmium, after defeating the Egyptian general Scopus, 198 B.C.⁵) and capture the city defended by fortification (Sidon, where Scopus surrendered with 10,000 men⁶), and the arms of the south will not be able to withstand (being unable to raise the siege), and as regardeth the chosen people (the Jews), there will

¹ Polybius V, 8. ² Ibid., XI, 8. ³ Ibid., XI, 8. ⁴ Josephus, “Antiquities,” XII, 3, 3. ⁵ Ency. Brit., Vol. XXIV, p. 605.
⁶ “House of Seleucus,” by E. R. Bevan, Vol. II, p. 37.

be no power in them to withstand (the arms of Antiochus III).

“And he (Antiochus III) that cometh against them (through occupation¹) will do according to his pleasure and none will stand before him;² and he will place himself (in the citadel³) in the glorious land (Judah), which will be altogether in his hand.⁴ He will also direct his face to enter (into Egypt, thinking Ptolemy Philopator dead⁵) with the strength of his whole kingdom, having professions of peace with him (he and Philip V, of Macedon, having agreed to divide Egypt between them⁶); and thus will he do it (change his mind upon finding Ptolemy alive⁷ and hearing of the defeat of Philip V, of Macedon, his possible ally, by the Romans at Cynocephale, 197 B.C.⁸); and he will give him (Ptolemy) the daughter of his wife (Cleopatra, as part of an alliance with Ptolemy to pacify the latter and to assist in withstanding the power of Rome⁹); but it will not stand (she being unable to prevent her husband from offering aid to Rome against Antiochus¹⁰), and it will not remain his (Coele-Syria, Phœnecia and Palestine, which had been given as dowry with Cleopatra, not being delivered¹¹).

“And he (Antiochus III) will direct his face unto the isles (Cyprus and the coast lands of Asia Mi-

¹ Josephus, “Antiquities,” XII, 3, 3. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Appian, “Roman History,” XI, 4. ⁶ Ency. Brit., Vol. XXII, p. 617. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Dio Cassius, “Roman History,” XIX, 9, 18.
⁹ Appian, “Roman History,” XI, 4-5. ¹⁰ Livy, “Roman History,” XXXVI, 12. ¹¹ Polybius, XXVIII, 20, 9.

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nor¹ after Rome had declared them free, and the islands of Greece) and capture many (being at first successful in Thrace, Galatia,² Aetolia and Ionia³); but a chieftain (Hannibal, who had escaped to Syria after his defeat at Zama) will cause to cease his (Antiochus') reproach against him (due to service rendered in planning with Antiochus to attack Rome⁴), without his giving back to him his own (Hannibal's) reproach (he failing to arouse Carthage to attack Rome and being defeated in a naval battle, while Antiochus was crushed at Thermopylæ, 191 B.C.,⁵ Myonesus,⁶ and Magnesia, 190 B.C.⁷). Then he (Antiochus) will direct his face toward the strongholds of his own land (with the intention of recuperating his fortunes by again advancing against Persia and Media); but he will stumble and fall (to his death while plundering the temple at Elymias⁸), and will no more be found.⁹

“And there will stand up in his stead one (Seleucus IV, 187-176 B.C.) who will cause the exactor of taxes to pass through the glorious land (Judah) of the kingdom (after the defeat of Antiochus III Rome compelled him to give up all his possessions in the Grecian archipelago, to pay 15,000 talents within twelve years, and to give twenty hostages, including Antiochus Epiphanes, the youngest son of Antiochus III,¹⁰ this burden falling upon Seleucus IV,¹¹ who recalled Antiochus Epiphanes and

¹ Appian, “Roman History,” XI, 5-6. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., XI, 12. ⁴ Appian, “Roman History,” XI, 7. ⁵ Ibid., XI, 8. ⁶ Ibid., XI, 27-28. ⁷ Ibid., XI, 33-36. ⁸ Diodorus, XXVIII, 3; XXIX, 15. ⁹ “House of Seleucus,” Vol. II, p. 120. ¹⁰ Appian, “Roman History,” XI, 38-39. ¹¹ “House of Seleucus,” Vol. II, p. 125.

sent his own son, Demetrius, a lad of twelve years, instead ¹); but within a few (seven) days (years) will he be broken (killed, 176 B.C.), but not in anger nor in battle (being assassinated as the result of a conspiracy headed by Heliodorus, a court official ²).

“And there will stand up in his place a despicable person (Antiochus Epiphanes), to whom they assigned not the honor of the kingdom (which would by primogeniture have fallen to Demetrius); but he will come (in 175 B.C.) quietly (Heliodorus being driven out by Eumenes and Attalus, of Pergamus, who installed Antiochus Epiphanes in order to secure his good will in opposition to Rome ³) and lay hold of the kingdom by flattery (saying the child, Demetrius, was too young to govern). And the powers of the overflow (Egypt, where Ptolemy V Epiphanes had died in 181 B.C. and his widow, Cleopatra, the sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had become regent and also died in 173 B.C., leaving a young son, Ptolemy VI Philometor, 181-145 B.C.⁴) will be swept away from before him (the young king's guardians being defeated at Pelusium, 169 B.C.⁵) and will be broken (the child, Ptolemy VI, being taken while attempting to escape by sea ⁶); yea, so also the prince in covenant with him (Ptolemy VII Eugertes, the young king's brother, who fled with his sister, Cleopatra, to the fortified city of Alexandria).

“And from the time of his (Antiochus Epiphanes') associating with him (Ptolemy VI) will he

¹ Appian, XI, 45. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ency. Brit., XXII, 617.
⁵ “House of Seleucus,” Vol. II, p. 135. ⁶ Ibid., p. 136.

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(Antiochus Epiphanes) deal deceitfully (pretending to help and take an interest in him, because a boy, and seizing the gates to Egypt by guile ¹) and he will come up (to Memphis) and obtain the victory (by obtaining nominal possession of the kingdom ²) with a small number of people (by representing himself as the protector of legitimate interests and setting up the boy as king ³). In quiet and into the fattest portions of the province (Lower Egypt) will he enter, and he will do what his fathers have not done, or his father's fathers (obtain temporary suzerainty over practically the entire kingdom): the prey and spoil and riches (stored up by the Ptolemies since the days of Perdiccas and Antigonos ⁴) will he divide freely among them (each of those of Greek nativity in Egypt receiving a gold piece ⁵) and against the strongholds (of Rome, ⁶ to whom he sent fifty talents as a gift to allay suspicion ⁷) will he devise his plans, but only till a certain time (when he retreated in 169 B.C. after having unsuccessfully invested Ptolemy Euergetes in Alexandria ⁸).

“And he (Antiochus Epiphanes) will then stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south (Egypt) with a great army (returning again in the following year ⁹); and the king of the south will prepare himself for the war with a great

¹ Diodorus, XX, 9, 25. ² “House of Seleucus,” Vol. II, p. 137.

³ Ibid., pp. 137-139. ⁴ Ibid., p. 141. ⁵ Ibid., p. 140. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Ibid., p. 141. ⁸ Livy, 45, 11. ⁹ “House of Seleucus,” Vol. II, p. 137.

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and mighty army;¹ but he (Ptolemy Eugertes) will not stand (being defeated at Mt. Casius²); for they (who had supported him) will devise evil plans against him (going over to Antiochus Epiphanes³). Yea, they that eat of his food (in his immediate entourage) will bring his downfall, and the army of the others (Antiochus Epiphanes) will fall down slain (before Alexandria).

“As for both these kings (Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Eugertes, who had now united), their heart is bent on mischief (against each other because of jealousy over territorial arrangements between them made temporarily by the Romans⁴), and at one table will they speak lies; but it shall not prosper, for the end is yet for the time appointed. Then he (Antiochus Epiphanes) will return unto his own land (Syria) with great riches, and his heart will be against the holy covenant (at Jerusalem, where he had set up Menelaus, who helped to have Onias murdered and robbed the temple, as high priest⁵); and he will do it (take the city on a plea of peace, slay his opponents and plunder⁶) and return to his own land (again⁷).

“At the time appointed (168 B.C.) will he return and enter into the south (after Ptolemy Philometor had refused to give up Pelusium⁸), but not as in the former will it be in the latter time (because disastrously). For there will come up against him

¹ “House of Seleucus.” ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Dio Cassius, XX, 9, 25. ⁵ Josephus, “Antiquities,” XII, 5, 1. ⁶ Ibid., XII, 5, 3. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ “House of Seleucus,” Vol II, p. 143.

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(Antiochus Epiphanes) the ships of Kittim (Rome); and he (Antiochus Epiphanes) will become faint-hearted (because of the demands of the Roman ambassador, Popilius Lænas, that he withdraw from Egypt¹) and return,² and will rage against the holy covenant (because of rampant opposition to his policy of stamping out Jewish ritualism³); and he will do it (profane the holy of holies by entering it, rifle the treasury and carry away the golden candlesticks, the golden altar, the table of shew bread and the vessels of gold and silver⁴), and he will return and have an understanding with those that forsake the holy covenant (including Menelaus).

“And army divisions will proceed from him,⁵ and they will defile the sanctuary and fortress, and remove the continual sacrifice (of a lamb twice each day) and they (Antiochus Epiphanes and those subject to him) will set up the desolating abomination (of an idol image,⁶ the sacrifice of swine,⁷ and finally a temple to Jupiter on the site of that to Jehovah⁸). And such (including Menelaus) as act wickedly against the covenant will be corrupt by flatteries (saying the Greek customs were preferable⁹); but the people that do not know their God will be strong and deal valiantly (Mattathias and his sons conducting a guerilla warfare against the idolatrous shrines throughout the country).

¹ Appian, XI, 66. ² Ibid. ³ “House of Seleucus,” Vol II, p. 171.
⁴ Josephus, “Antiquities,” XII, 5, 4. ⁵ Ibid., XII, 5, 2. ⁶ Ibid., XII, 5, 4. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid., XII, 5, 5. ⁹ Ibid., XII, 5, 1.

“And the intelligent of the people (teachers springing up everywhere ¹) will impart understanding to many; yet they will stumble through the sword (of martyrdom, in which they were whipped with rods, their bodies were torn in pieces and they were crucified alive ²), through flame (of burning homes), through captivity and through being plundered for some time. But in their stumbling will they be aided with a little help (Judas Maccabeus now coming forward); but many (Jewish renegades) will join themselves to them (that follow Antiochus) with deceptive flatteries (saying he was right in changing the customs of the Jews to conform to the average). And some of the intelligent will stumble (through many defeats and some victories), to make a purification among them (and return to the old worship), and to select and to cleanse them (of the hated abominations) until the time of the end (prophesied and hoped for at this time); because it is yet (to come) for the time appointed.

“And the king (Antiochus Epiphanes) will do according to his pleasure (in his tyranny); and he will exalt and magnify himself above every god (as E. R. Bevan says, ‘His surname, Theos Epiphanes, declares him to be an effulgence in human form of the Divine, a god manifest in flesh’ ³) and against the God of gods will he speak incredible things (claiming to be an impersonation of the gods, he

¹ Josephus, “Antiquities,” XII, 5, 4. ² Ibid. ³ “House of Seleucus,” Vol. II, p. 154.

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appropriated the treasures of the temples as belonging to him), and he will prosper till the indignation (against the Jews, which had been predicted) be at an end (at least, it was so hoped by the Maccabean writer of this chapter); for that which is determined (in prophesy) will be accomplished (now against Antiochus Epiphanes, it was desired).

“And to the gods of his fathers (rather to Jupiter, a Roman god) will he pay no regard; and to the desire of women (robbing the temple of Hera), or to any god whatever will he not pay any regard; for above all will he magnify himself (having himself worshipped as a god). And in his place will he pay honor to the god of the fortresses (Jupiter Capitolanus); and to a god whom his fathers knew not will he pay honor with gold and silver and with precious stones and costly things (starting the erection of the temple to Jupiter which was afterwards completed by Hadrian). This will he do for the very strong fortresses (Rome) together with the strange god (Jupiter); whoever will acknowledge him (such as Menelaus) will he give much honor (as high priest); and he will cause such a rule over many and to divide out the land for a price (of taxation).

“And at the time of the end (which was thus indicated as the completion of the seventy weeks apochraphally stated in the ninth chapter, and was not fulfilled in history despite the following sentences), will the king of the south push against him; and the king of the north will come up against him (the king of Egypt, which did not occur) like a

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storm wind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he will enter into some countries and will overflow and pass along. And he will enter into the glorious land (Judah) and much will be overthrown; but these will escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the first portion of the children of Ammon. And he will stretch forth his hand against some countries and the children of Egypt will not escape. And he will have control over the treasures of gold and of silver and over all the costly things of Egypt; and the Libyans and the Ethiopians will follow at his steps (as they had already done). But reports out of the east and out of the north will terrify him; and he will go forth with great fury to destroy and to exterminate many. And he will pitch the palace of his tent between the seas and the glorious holy mountain (Mt. Zion); and he will come to his end without one to help him (dying of a wasting disease ¹ at Elymias while planning to rob the temple of Diana).''

Passing over these ninth and eleventh chapters, so palpably adapted to Maccabean yearnings, the tenth chapter mentions having been written by Daniel in the third year of Cyrus, the Persian, or in 535 B.C., when it is possible that the prophet was about sixty-five years of age. Again the style is as in the earlier chapters. He sees a man all in linen (perhaps an ecstatic vision of the Messiah), and says: "His loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz ('I will give him of the

¹ Appian, II, 235.

gold of Ophir'); and his body was like the crysolite (a stone with the appearance of glass which so reflects light that its source is not visible), and his face like the appearance of lightning (in its spiritual radiance), and his eyes are like the torches of fire, and his arms and his feet of burnished copper (in an age of metal), and the sound of his voice was like the noise of a multitude (in the great democracy of the future). And I Daniel saw alone (like the witch of Endor who perceived the shade of Samuel) this great appearance."

Continuing to speak of the end of the days (despite the intervening historical eleventh chapter) Daniel, in Chapter XII, says: "And at that time will Michael the great prince, who standeth for the children of thy people, stand forth; and there will be a time of distress (through wars) such as there hath not been since the beginning of any nation until that same time; and at that time shall thy people be delivered (here commence words which are evidently interpolated), every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of those that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to everlasting abhorrence (and here they end—expressive of views alien to the Old Testament). And the intelligent shall shine brilliantly like the brilliance of the expanse of the sky; and they that bring many to righteousness shall shine like the stars for ever and ever. But thou, O Daniel, close up the words and seal the book, until the time of the end; many shall roam about, yet shall knowledge be increased.

“Then I Daniel looked and behold, there were two others standing, the one on this side of the bank of the stream (of life) and the other on that side of the bank of the stream. And the one said to the man clothed in linen, who was above the waters of the stream, ‘How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?’ Then heard I the man clothed in linen, who was above the waters of the stream; and he lifted up his right hand and his left hand unto the heavens, and swore by the Everlasting One that after a time (a thousand years), times (another thousand years), and a half (of a thousand years), and when there shall be an end to the crushing of the power of the holy people (as already in free America and to a lesser degree elsewhere) all these things shall be ended.

“And I heard, indeed, but I understood it not: then said I, ‘O my Lord, what end shall be the end of these things?’ And he said, ‘Go thy way, Daniel! for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end. Many shall be selected and cleansed and purified; but the wicked will deal wickedly and none of the wicked will understand; but the intelligent will understand.

“And from the time that the continual sacrifice will be removed (apparently an interpolation for the date of 535 B.C. mentioned at the chapter’s beginning as the time of composition) even to set up the desolating abomination (of which this excerpt from the “Letters from a Chinese Official” is sufficient explanation: *And such, if I understand it aright, was the character of your civilization in*

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what you describe as the Ages of Faith. Asceticism, monastic vows, the domination of priests, the petty interests of life and death overshadowed by the tremendous issues of heaven and hell, beggary sanctified, wealth contemned, reason stunted, imagination hypertrophied, the spiritual and temporal powers at war, body at feud with soul, everywhere division, conflict, confusion, intellectual and moral insanity—such was the character of that extraordinary epoch in Western history when the Christian conception made an effort to embody itself in fact), there will be a thousand two hundred and ninety days (or years, from 535 B.C. to 755 A.D., when Pippin, the Frankish king who had been anointed by the Roman pontiff, crossed the Alps, attacked Aistulf, the Lombard, and compelled him to give to the Pope estates which made the latter a temporal ruler).

“Happy is he that waiteth to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days (A.D., when Petrarch, “The Father of the Renaissance” entered upon his work of copying the manuscripts of the ancient classics and discussing them with the men of Paris, Ghent, Liége, Cologne and Rome, thus helping to lay the foundation of the Revival of Learning and the modern world, and when Boccaccio settled at Naples and began his immortal task of appealing to the desire for more life in this world instead of postponing all its joys until the next. It will be noticed that this date stands by itself in the calendar and is not a continuation, as in the case of the 1290 days). But thou (Daniel)

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go thy way toward the end; and thou shalt rest (in death) and rise again (in another life) for thy lot at the end of the days.' ”

Such is the Book of Daniel. It is not meant for the eye of the mystic merely; it bears a living message of present and permanent value for the people of the United States and the world. For if its visions are true and its interpretation is correct, the “time of the end,” not of a world but of a dispensation which shall give way to a new one of peace on earth and good will to men, is not far away. It may be true that neither 1938 or any year in the interval is to be an exact verification of either the law of blood or the “time, times and half a time.” As Mrs. Humphrey Ward has remarked, “the force of things is against the *certain* people.”

In this connection there comes to my mind the recollection of days as a newspaper man in San Francisco when obsessed by the thought that some day that city would sink beneath the waves of the ocean. A friend once told me that he never walked along the streets there that he did not feel himself far below the water. Investigating, the information came from scientific quarters that the Golden Gate is situated on a perfect earthquake fault. Now and then there would be a tremor to freshen my memory of this, but reporters were forbidden ever to mention it. Finally, I had a dream of the town being all awash and disappearing in a mammoth overflow, and a voice in my ear declaring: “For oh! city that hath not repented, ten times ten thousand

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years shall roll over thee. Thou shalt be as though thou hadst never been." But the beautiful city still stands in a land of sunshine, all the obsessions and feelings and science and dreams notwithstanding.

In the spring of 1911 it came to me in a dream that the great debacle in Europe would occur in 1914 and that Germany would for a time seize all the land east to the Dneiper and the Duna rivers. I did not believe it and paid not enough attention to it, but it came to pass. And at this same time there was a vision of trouble with Japan at a not far distant day and of another great war in 1931. But at this period there are no signs of a conflict with our Asiatic neighbor and a mighty contest of arms at the later date appears remote indeed. Intensely interested in the events of August, 1914, I reasoned that Germany would expand and then recede, as all other conquering nations had done. But I did not foresee that the United States alone would bring the triumph of the Central Empires to an end, and, in consequence, I spent many nights under the stars at Plattsburg, wondering why I had not been given to see the light, and feeling that my own will must have interposed to prevent it. The flickering consciousness of something that was to be had gone. I was left with the certainty that no man can read the future and that knowledge of it must come to him as a voice from the Most High.

So it may be with any prediction of result from the law of blood and the Book of Daniel. Yet it may be assumed, because of the working out of that

law among all peoples in the past and the exact fulfillment of Divine prophecy heretofore, that the near future will witness the end of monarchical institutions and the sword and the ushering in of the Great Republic and the brotherhood of man.

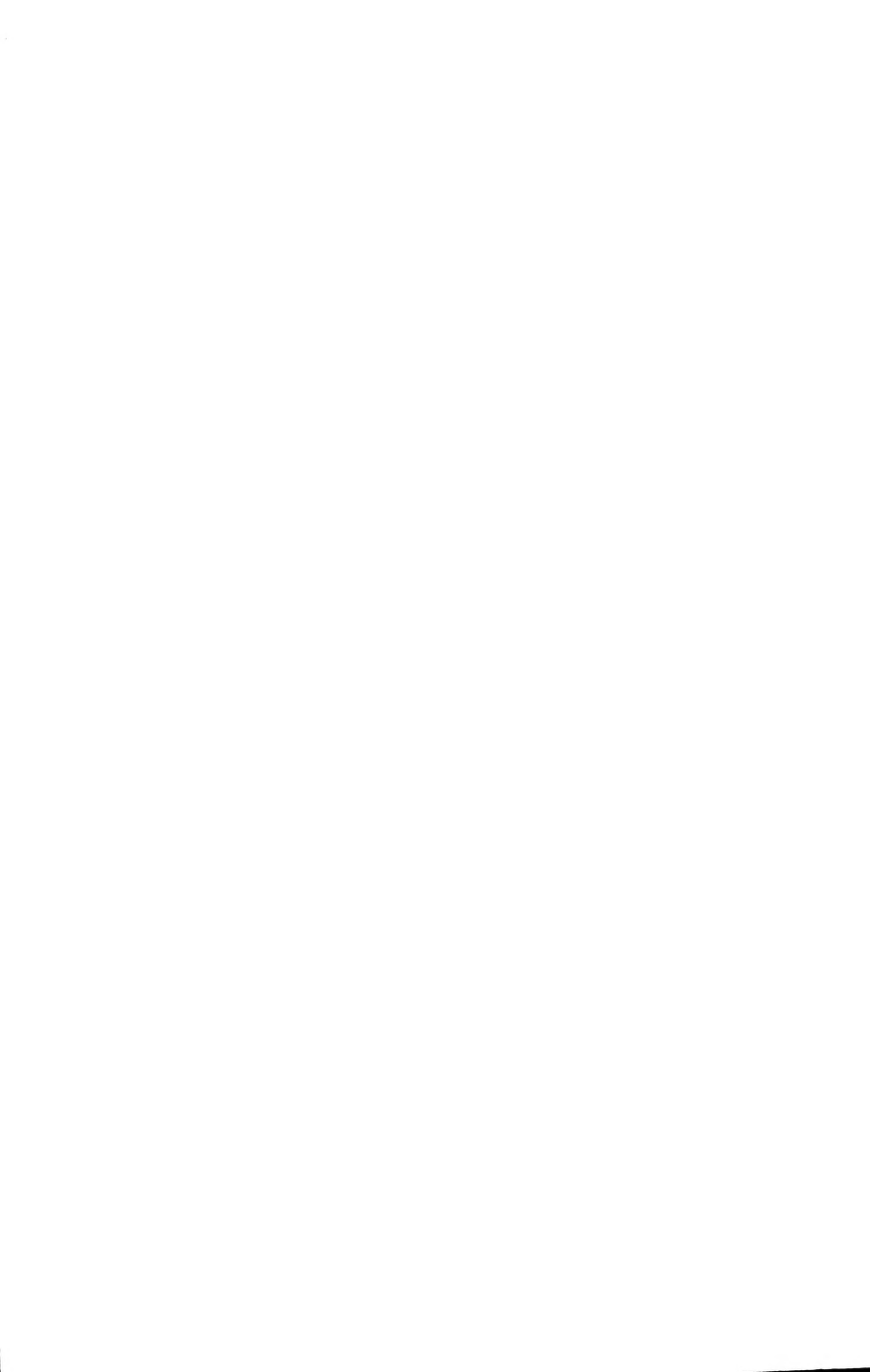
With such a commonwealth discernible as the final human goal and yet only the beginning of a richer life on the planet, we may, in view of the proposed principles underlying it, receive new meaning from the words of the poet Akenside:

“——if to this the mind

Exalts her daring eye, then mightier far
Will be the change, and nobler. Would the forms
Of servile custom cramp her generous powers?
Would sordid policies, the barbarous growth
Of ignorance and rapine, bow her down
To tame pursuits, to indolence and fear?
Lo! she appeals to nature, to the winds
And rolling waves, the sun's unwearied course,
The elements and seasons: all declare
For what the Eternal Maker has ordained
The powers of man: we feel within ourselves
His energy divine: He tells the heart,
He meant, He made us to behold and love
What He beholds and loves, the general orb
Of life and being; to be great like Him,
Beneficent and active. Thus the men
Whom nature's works can charm, with God Him-
self

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Hold converse; grow familiar day by day
With His conceptions, act upon His plan,
And form to His the relish of their souls.”



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